



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

**STUDENT NON-VIOLENT
COORDINATING COMMITTEE
(SNCC)**

PART 5 OF 14

BUFILE: 100-439190 SECTION 7

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE CINCINNATI	OFFICE OF ORIGIN ATLANTA	DATE 1/8/68	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 11/13/67 - 1/3/68
TITLE OF CASE STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)		REPORT MADE BY SA [REDACTED]	TYPED BY mld
		CHARACTER OF CASE INTERNAL SECURITY - SNCC	

REFERENCE:

Bureau airtel to Cincinnati, 11/16/67. ✓

- P -

ADMINISTRATIVE:

Instant report has been classified "~~Confidential~~" to further protect the identities of sources who furnished data set forth herein, disclosure of which could be prejudicial to the security interests of the United States.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED						None	ACQUIT- TALS
Convic.	Auto.	Fug.	Fines	Savings	Recoveries		

Has been Pending over one year ☐ Yes ☐ No; Pending prosecution over six months ☐ Yes ☐ No

<p>COPIES MADE:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 7 - Bureau (RM) 1 - 109th MI Group, Cincinnati (RM) 1 - NISO, Cincinnati (RM) 1 - OSI, Cincinnati (RM) 1 - Secret Service, Cincinnati (RM) 6 - Atlanta (RM) <li style="padding-left: 20px;">(1 - 100-SNCC) <p style="text-align: center;">(Con't)</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW</p> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; margin: 10px;"> <p style="text-align: right; font-weight: bold;">REG-20</p> <p style="text-align: center;">12 JAN 11 1968</p> </div> <p>Notations</p>
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Dissemination Record of Attached Report				
at head.				
Fwd.				

CI 100-14158

Copies Con't:

(1 - 157- [REDACTED])
(1 - 157- [REDACTED])
(1 - 157- [REDACTED])
(1 - 157- [REDACTED])
(1 - 157- [REDACTED])
3 - Cleveland (RM)
(1 - 100-SNCC)
(1 - 157- [REDACTED])
(1 - 157- [REDACTED])
6 - Cincinnati
(1 - 100-14158) (SNCC)
(1 - 157-1674) (Civil Disturbance, Central State
University, Wilberforce, Ohio,
11/13/67)
(1 - 157-1707) [REDACTED]
(1 - 157-) [REDACTED]
(1 - 157-373) [REDACTED]
(1 - 157-1293) [REDACTED]

In view of the racial disturbance participation by SNCC at Central State University (CSU) Wilberforce, Ohio, one copy each of instant report has been disseminated locally to the 109th MI Group, OSI, NISO, and Secret Service, Cincinnati, Ohio.

In accordance with re Bureau letter instant report sets forth SNCC activities at Central State University, Wilberforce, Ohio.

It should be noted that for purposes of brevity and clarity, and to avoid repetition, only the most informative newspaper articles concerning SNCC and the disturbance are set forth in succinct form to indicate activities of this group on the campus.

INFORMANTS

Identity of Source

Location

[REDACTED]
100-14158-532

Instant report.

Furnished orally to SA [REDACTED]
on 1/3/68.

CI 100-14158

Identity of Source

Location

157-1674-20

157-1674-18

Used to characterize
CLEVELAND SELLERS.
(100-14208-17)

100-14208-17

100-14208-14

LEADS:

CINCINNATI

AT DAYTON, OHIO

Will contact [REDACTED] for any more positive
indication of SNCC activities or involvement in violence
type agitation at Central State University.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Director
United States Secret Service
Department of the Treasury
Washington, D. C. 20220

January 8, 1968

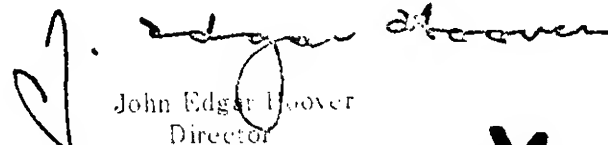
Dear Sir:

The information furnished herewith concerns an individual who is believed to be covered by the agreement between the FBI and Secret Service concerning Presidential protection, and to fall within the category or categories checked.

1. ☐ Has attempted or threatened bodily harm to any government official or employee, including foreign government officials residing in or planning an imminent visit to the U. S., because of his official status.
2. ☐ Has attempted or threatened to redress a grievance against any public official by other than legal means.
3. ☐ Because of background is potentially dangerous; or has been identified as member or participant in communist movement; or has been under active investigation as member of other group or organization inimical to U. S.
4. ☐ U. S. citizens or residents who defect from the U. S. to countries in the Soviet or Chinese Communist blocs and return.
5. ☒ Subversives, ultrarightists, racists and fascists who meet one or more of the following criteria:
 - (a) ☐ Evidence of emotional instability (including unstable residence and employment record) or irrational or suicidal behavior;
 - (b) ☒ Expressions of strong or violent anti-U. S. sentiment;
 - (c) ☐ Prior acts (including arrests or convictions) or conduct or statements indicating a propensity for violence and antipathy toward good order and government.
6. ☐ Individuals involved in illegal bombing or illegal bomb-making.

Photograph ☐ has been furnished ☐ enclosed ☐ is not available
may be available through _____

Very truly yours,


John Edgar Hoover
Director

1 - Special Agent in Charge (Enclosure(s) 1 (RM)
U. S. Secret Service, Cincinnati, Ohio

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Enclosure(s)

(Upon removal of classified enclosures, if any, this transmittal form becomes UNCLASSIFIED.)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to: 1 - 109th MI Group, Cincinnati (RM)
1 - NISO, Cincinnati (RM)
1 - OSI, Cincinnati (RM)
1 - Secret Service, Cincinnati (RM)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Report of: SA [REDACTED] Office: CINCINNATI
Date: 1/8/68

Field Office File #: CI 100-14158 Bureau File #:

Title: STUDENT NONVIOLENT
COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - SNCC

Synopsis:

[REDACTED]

- P -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DETAILS:

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Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)
Programs and Activities at Central State University,
Wilberforce, Ohio

[REDACTED]

(Source: [REDACTED] on November 6, 1967)

[REDACTED]

(Source: [REDACTED] on November 8, 1967)

[REDACTED]

(Source: [REDACTED] on January 3, 1968)

During the past few weeks there have been many internal problems at Central State University relating to maintenance employees' strike and tension between Black Power group and the more conservative students and administration.

(Source: [REDACTED] on November 8, 1967)

"The Record", published weekly by Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio, during periods when school is in session, published on November 17, 1967, an article stating that the trustees of Central State University, which is located five miles south of Antioch College, ordered the school closed Wednesday, November 13, 1967, after a day and one-half of violence between police authorities and students. The violence occurred as a result of police attempts to arrest SNCC leaders, including a leader of SNCC at Central State University, who had been expelled for allegedly threatening the lives of the president of neighboring Wilberforce University, a Negro school.

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The charge stemmed from an interchange between Wilberforce University President PEMBERT STOKES and WARREN during a rally held in the wake of a controversy over increased benefits to non-student workers. STOKES claimed WARREN threatened to kill him; WARREN said that he said, "If the revolution were now I'd have to kill all Toms".

Several SNCC members told the Antioch College newspaper, "The Record", that the Central State University Administration expelled WARREN in an attempt to destroy the SNCC Chapter.

WARREN attended classes on Monday, following expulsion and approximately thirty students thwarted campus police attempts to arrest him. Students placed themselves between WARREN and the authorities and later barricaded him in Wesley Hall. By the time campus police entered WARREN was gone.

The Cincinnati "Enquirer", a newspaper of general circulation published at Cincinnati, Ohio, published in its final edition on December 3, 1967, that Dr. HARRY E. GROVES, Negro president of Central State University, blamed "persons from Atlanta", where SNCC's national headquarters is located, for stirring the riots on the campus.

[REDACTED]

(Source: [REDACTED] on November 14, 1967)

The Cincinnati "Enquirer", a daily newspaper published in Cincinnati, contained an article in the September 16, 1967, issue which stated that GEORGE WARE was a principal lieutenant of STOKELY CARMICHAEL, former Chairman of SNCC.

[REDACTED]

(Source: [REDACTED] on November 14, 1967)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 08-11-2010 BY 60322 UCBAW/SJS

[illegible]

[REDACTED]

the same time, the fact that the system is not yet fully developed, and that it is still in the process of being refined, is also a source of concern.

[illegible]

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The "Commercial Herald", a daily newspaper of general circulation in the Dayton, Ohio, area, carried an article in the November 28, 1967, edition, stating that MICHAEL WARREN, controversial Central State Senator, expelled earlier this month, made a surprise return to the campus on November 27, 1967, when the school reopened and declared publicly, "If the revolution were on at this moment, I could have to kill all (Negro) Niggers."

It was allegedly similar to the statement he made on November 1 to Dr. FEMBERT MOXLEY, President of nearby Wilberforce University. The result of WARREN's expulsion, and subsequent banning from campus.

Asked by reporters if he planned on reappearing for re-admission, he stated, "I can't answer any question because I don't trust you." WARREN was seated at the front row next to Mrs. CHARLES WARE of Dayton, a Black Power advocate. Asked if she was instrumental in WARREN's return to the campus she said she could not comment on the situation.

Source: [REDACTED] p. 20, 4, 1967

The "Commercial Herald", a daily newspaper of general circulation in the Dayton, Ohio, area, carried an article in the November 28, 1967, edition, stating that MICHAEL WARREN, controversial Central State Senator, expelled earlier this month, made a surprise return to the campus on November 27, 1967, when the school reopened and declared publicly, "If the revolution were on at this moment, I could have to kill all (Negro) Niggers."

The school came to a halt for several hours by way of a riot of shouting by angry students, and a riotous pelting, "Black Power", which forced the closing of the school for the day.

Warren's return caused one of the most serious crises the university officials ever to experience. The crisis involved faculty, administrators, parents, and a few Negro leaders to examine and discuss the question, "What does it all mean?"

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

"If the symposium proved anything it was that 'Black Power' means a variety of different things to different people."

"More than 2,000 students gathered in the gymnasium, along with teachers, deans, parents, and school maintenance workers. Nearly all present were Negroes; eight men at the speakers' table ranged from University Present Dr. HARRY GROVES to HARLELL JONES, who was fired from a laborer's job at the city of Cleveland for Black Power militancy."

"Then came the definition of Black Power."

"There are non-violent positive aspects of Black Power," said GROVES. "It is a continuing, changing thing that can mean more economic and political power for Negroes."

"DeForest Brown, a militant Negro leader from Cleveland, didn't see it that way." "Black Power," he said, "is only the authority of black people who act in their own best interest. It is not just a non-violent movement because we believe we are men and we are going to act like men."

"Brown's remarks and those of some of the other militant speakers drew some applause, but the students responded more enthusiastically to Dr. JAMES T. HENRY, a geology professor and veteran city councilman in nearby Xenia. HENRY said it was necessary to speak of Black Power 'like it is'."

"I will fight for Black Power, but within the context of entering the mainstream of power," he said. "When I came here in the 1930's the race relation situation in Xenia was tough, but it is better now and it is because we fought to change it - but we fought within the mainstream of political establishment."

"Also at the table was GEORGE WARE, a quick young man who travels the country organizing Negroes on college campuses for the militant Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). He was another who didn't think Black Power meant working within 'the mainstream'."

"This is a country", advised WARE, "that will allow kids to throw rocks in Ft. Lauderdale, Florida, every year, and will bring in the National Guard when a few kids try to defend one classmate at their own institution."

"There was scattered applause for WARE, but it did not match the response given a young Negro who identified

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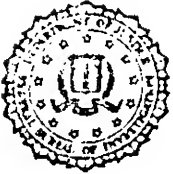
himself as president of the Student Government."

"I don't think hate of any kind helps us", the student spokesman said. "Hate blinds." "Our goal is not to overthrow the Government, but to be involved in it."

"There was no evidence at the end that either side - the violence or the non-violence had much influence on the other."

"One stand-patter was MICHAEL WARREN, the student expelled for threatening the life of Negro president of neighboring Wilberforce University. Negro moderates to WARREN are, 'Uncle Toms'. WARREN announced through the loud speaker, 'I would if the revolution was on at this minute, have to kill all the Toms.'"

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Cincinnati, Ohio
January 8, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. CI 100-14158

Title	STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)
Character	INTERNAL SECURITY - SNCC
Reference	Report of Special Agent [REDACTED] [REDACTED] dated and captioned as above at Cincinnati.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE CINCINNATI	OFFICE OF ORIGIN ATLANTA	DATE 1/17/68	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 11/22/67 - 1/16/68
TITLE OF CASE STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)		REPORT MADE BY SA [REDACTED]	TYPED BY mjw
		CHARACTER OF CASE IS - SNCC	

REFERENCE:

Report of SA [REDACTED], 1/8/68,
at Cincinnati
Report of SA [REDACTED] dated 12/18/67,
at Atlanta.

- P -

ADMINISTRATIVE:

This report has been classified "Confidential" to further protect the identities of confidential informants and sources whose identities might otherwise possibly be determined

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED					NONE	ACQUIT- TALS
CONVIC.	AUTO	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES	

Case pending: Pending over one year ☐ Yes ☒ No; Pending prosecution over six months ☐ Yes ☒ No

APPROVED

SPECIAL AGENT
IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

COPIES MADE:

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- 1 - 109th MIG, Cincinnati, Ohio (RM)
- 1 - NISO, Cincinnati, Ohio (RM)
- 1 - OSI, Cincinnati, Ohio (RM)
- 1 - Secret Service, Cincinnati, Ohio (RM)
- 1 - Atlanta (100-6488) (RM)
- 1 - Cincinnati (4 - 100-14158) (SNCC)
- 1 - 157-37311 (1 - 157-18221-100-100)
- 1 - 157-1293 (1 - 100-7522) (1 - 157-329)

100-439190-2017
18 JAN 22 1968

Dissemination Record of Attached Report

Notations

Agency				
Request Recd.				
Date Fwd.				
How Fwd.				
By				

SEC.

CI 100-14153

with subsequent jeopardy to their future usefulness and to the security of the country.

SNCC activities at Central State University and Wilberforce University, Wilberforce, Ohio, are more fully set out in referenced Cincinnati report of 1/8/68.

In view of SNCC activities in racial disturbances, copy of this report has been disseminated locally to the 108th MI Group, NISO, and OSI, as well as Secret Service, Cincinnati.

EXCERPTS

Identity of Source

Location

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

157-373-6

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

100-14158-562

157-373-68

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

100-14158-564

CI 100-14158

Identity of Source (continued)

Location

[REDACTED]	100-14158-502
[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]	157-1534-7
[REDACTED]	157-373-106 -113
[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]	100-14158-596
[REDACTED]	157-373-69, p. 2
[REDACTED]	100-14158-595
[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]	100-14158-579 -590
[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]	100-14158-532 -593
[REDACTED]	157-1674-18 -20
[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]

LEADS

CINCINNATI

AT DAYTON, OHIO

Will follow and report activities of SNCC in Dayton

CI 100-14158

area.

Will similarly follow and report on SNCC activities in Xenia, as well as Wilberforce and Yellow Springs, Ohio.

AT CINCINNATI, OHIO

Will similarly follow and report pertinent activities of Cincinnati chapter of SNCC.

AT COLUMBUS, OHIO

Will follow with informants and sources for any SNCC activity in the Columbus area.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to

File No. CI 100-14158

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

January 17, 1968

Director
United States Secret Service
Department of the Treasury
Washington, D. C. 20220

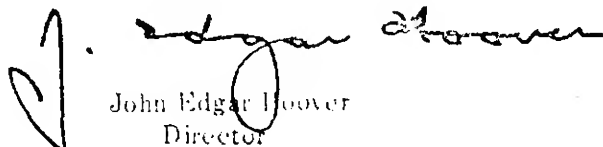
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Dear Sir:

The information furnished herewith concerns an individual who is believed to be covered by the agreement between the FBI and Secret Service concerning Presidential protection, and to fall within the category or categories checked.

1. ☐ Has attempted or threatened bodily harm to any government official or employee, including foreign government officials residing in or planning an imminent visit to the U. S., because of his official status.
 2. ☐ Has attempted or threatened to redress a grievance against any public official by other than legal means.
 3. ☐ Because of background is potentially dangerous; or has been identified as member or participant in communist movement; or has been under active investigation as member of other group or organization inimical to U. S.
 4. ☐ U. S. citizens or residents who defect from the U. S. to countries in the Soviet or Chinese Communist blocs and return.
 5. ☒ Subversives, ultrarightists, racists and fascists who meet one or more of the following criteria:
 - (a) ☐ Evidence of emotional instability (including unstable residence and employment record) or irrational or suicidal behavior;
 - (b) ☒ Expressions of strong or violent anti-U. S. sentiment;
 - (c) ☐ Prior acts (including arrests or convictions) or conduct or statements indicating a propensity for violence and antipathy toward good order and government.
 6. ☐ Individuals involved in illegal bombing or illegal bomb-making.
- Photograph ☐ has been furnished ☐ enclosed ☐ is not available
☐ may be available through _____

Very truly yours,


John Edgar Hoover
Director

1 - Special Agent in Charge (Enclosure(s))
U. S. Secret Service, Cincinnati (RM)

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Enclosure(s)

(Upon removal of classified enclosures, if any, this transmittal form becomes UNCLASSIFIED.)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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Copy to: 1 - 109th Military Intelligence Group, Cincinnati (RM)
1 - Naval Investigative Service Office, Cincinnati (RM)
1 - Office of Special Investigations, Cincinnati (RM)
1 - U.S. Secret Service, Cincinnati (RM)

Report of: SA [REDACTED]
Date: 1/17/68

Office: CINCINNATI

Field Office File No.: 100-14158

Bureau File No.: 100-439190

Title: STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING
COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character: INTERNAL SECURITY - STUDENT NON-VIOLENT
COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Synopsis:

[REDACTED]

GROUP 1
Excluded from
automatic downgrading
and declassification.

CONFIDENTIAL

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DETAILS:

CINCINNATI CHAPTER OF STUDENT NONVIOLENT
COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Organization

Precedent to the establishment of a Cincinnati chapter of SNCC about August, 1967, there was an organization known as Friends of SNCC, made up of white and Negro individuals, which existed for several years as a money-raiser for SNCC and which was last headed by LEONARD CARSON BALL, a long-time Cincinnati Negro militant. BALL was formerly chairman of the local chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) from April, 1964, to April, 1966. When BALL resigned from CORE in April, 1966, he became chairman of Friends of SNCC, according to the April 6, 1966, "Cincinnati Post and Times Star," daily newspaper, and the April 9, 1966, "Cincinnati Herald," weekly Negro newspaper. He became chairman of the Cincinnati chapter of SNCC about July 28, 1967.

At the July 28, 1967, meeting of SNCC, attended by about 35 persons, it was determined that a local SNCC chapter had been established, headed by LEONARD CARSON BALL as chairman, and that Friends of SNCC, which BALL had headed as chairman, had been discontinued.

(Source: [REDACTED] August 2, 1967) MEMBER OF SUB-ROD ORGANIZATION

In August, 1967, THOMAS JAMES PORTER succeeded BALL as chairman of Cincinnati SNCC, BALL becoming Program Director, according to the August 29, 1967, "Cincinnati Post and Times Star," supra, which quoted BALL as stating that "the change was made to make the SNCC chapter more effective and viable in the Cincinnati area." The change in the chairman took place at the August 25, 1967, SNCC meeting, according to the September 2, 1967, "Cincinnati Herald," supra, which added that "the activities of the local SNCC chapter will be escalated considerably requiring re-structuring of the chapter."

LEONARD BALL actually did not, by giving up the

CI 100-14158

chairmanship, take a demotion in SNCC but was made a SNCC field representative in addition to being Program Director of local SNCC.

(Source: [REDACTED] September 21, 1967)

Principal Leaders

THOMAS JAMES PORTER, Chairman, Cincinnati chapter of SNCC;

LEONARD CARSON BALL, Program Director, and also a Field Representative of national SNCC;

WILMA TONEY, Acting Secretary.

MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

(Sources: [REDACTED] January 15, 1968, and August 2, 1967)

While PORTER is chairman and BALL program director, the decisions of BALL generally carry more weight than those of PORTER.

(Source: [REDACTED] January 15, 1968)

Membership

Present membership of Cincinnati SNCC is 15. About September 1, 1967, the membership was about 25. When Friends of SNCC existed, it had a membership of white and black individuals of about 200, some of whom knowingly or unknowingly believe they are SNCC members. Weekly public meetings were discontinued because non-members of SNCC would show up, with several "windy" persons taking up considerable time in long speeches and opinions which accomplished nothing and frequently prevented the purpose of the meeting from being accomplished.

(Source: [REDACTED] January 15, 1968)

Meetings

Meetings are held periodically at different locations. They were held previously once a week at various

places, with one public meeting a month at Carmel Presbyterian Church. [REDACTED]

(Source: [REDACTED] January 15, 1968)

In early December, 1967, it was learned that the previous schedule of an open weekly meeting on Friday night about 8:00 p.m. at the Carmel Church had been changed to a closed meeting of leaders held each Friday at either the Black Arts Studio or PORTER's apartment on Glenwood Avenue, with the last Friday of the month for an open meeting at the church. Open means a general membership attendance, plus visitors and guests.

(Source: [REDACTED] December 4, 1967)

SNCC Newsletter - Containing Background and Purposes of SNCC

Cincinnati SNCC periodically puts out a mimeographed newsletter which contains anti-white and anti-police comments as well as some comments of STOKELY CARMICHAEL and H. RAP BROWN, national SNCC officials, and about Black Power and anti-Negro groups. For example, in one, it quotes H. RAP BROWN as saying, "There are thirteen concentration camps here in America. Do you black people think that they are for just STOKELY and me?"

(Sources: [REDACTED] October 5, 1967, and
[REDACTED] October 26, 1967)

In one SNCC newsletter distributed, being unsigned and undated but received on October 5, 1967, there was contained the following on the organization and purposes of SNCC, an editorial appeal to "younger black thinkers," emphasis on unity, and the necessity of "black organizations... to think and act revolutionary...":

"CINCINNATI CHAPTER SNCC
NEWSLETTER

"THE STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

"SNCC became an organization in February, 1960, and was the most militant and un-compromising of the existing civil rights organizations. During the early sixties, SNCC operated mostly in the South organizing and encouraging black people by using bold tactics and techniques in breaking down and removing barriers of segregation. SNCC soon found out, after much frustration, that the scope of the movement had to be broadened to reach and include more black people. THE MOVE HAD TO BE INWARD. Beginning with voter registration drives, voter education clinics, workshops and freedom centers, SNCC gained many in-roads into the white controlled southern political and economic system. The Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party and the Black Panther Party in Alabama was formed. A new sense of awareness and accomplishment was instilled in the hearts and minds of fearful black people. The cultural and social revolution gained its first foothold. And the difficult job of organizing still goes on in Miss., Alabama, Georgia and in the northern ghettos.

"To make SNCC's policies and programs clearer, the following statement was issued from the Atlanta Office:

"SNCC is a Human Rights Organization interested not only in human rights in the United States, but throughout the world; that in the field of International Relations, we assert that we encourage and support the liberation struggles of all people against racism, exploitation, and oppression. We see our struggle here in America as an integral part of the world-wide movement of all oppressed people, such as in Vietnam, Angola, Mozambique, South Africa, Zimbabwe, and Latin America. Furthermore, we support the efforts of our brothers in Puerto Rico who are presently engaged in a fight for independence and liberation there.

"We (SNCC) shall seek to build a strong nation-wide

Black Anti-Draft Program and movement to include the high school students along with college students and other black men of draft age. We see no reason for black men who are daily murdered physically and mentally in this country to go and kill yellow people abroad, who have done nothing to us, and are, in fact, victims of the same oppression that our brothers in Vietnam suffer.

"Our major thrust will be in the building of National Freedom Organizations which will deal with all aspects of the problems facing black people in America. The political objective will manifest itself in the creation of a viable, independent political force. The economic objective will be (1) to expel the exploiters who presently control our community, (2) to gain economic control of our communities, and (3) to create an economic system which will be responsible to and benefit the black community, rather than a few individuals. Our cultural objectives will be (1) to destroy the myths and lies propagated by white America concerning our history in Africa and in this country and (2) to develop an awareness and appreciation of the beauty of our thick lips, broad noses, kinky hair and soul. In obtaining these objectives, we will work with all other black groups who are fighting for the same goals. The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC,

"EDITORIAL

"The recent revolts teach the younger black thinkers many valuable lessons. One of them being; that, there is now and has always been an unconscious and undeclared war on Afro-Americans by the average hunkie. And a conscious strategic and declared war on us by the Power Structure.

"Proof of this is in the hypocritical position the power structure has taken. First they say that the revolts were natural and necessary to bring this problem to the attention of people, then in the same breath, they say how terribly wrong it is for oppressed people to rebel, they say that we should respect the government, regardless of how much the government

obviously disrespects us. They even prey on our innocent and ignorant brothers making them say that we are wrong. When all along it is the hunkie who is wrong and who must admit this fact. Since he has shown us he is incapable of doing this it seems like there will be continued war.

"Every day more and more Afro-Americans are waking up to the obscenity of the hunkie in America, so this war will become a two sided thing where the crumbling of white, racist America will be our victory and their defeat.

"A MESSAGE TO THE BLACK PEOPLE OF CINTI.
SELF-HATRED in REGARDS to DIS-UNITY

"United we stand Divided we fall." Then why in Hell can't we black people unite? One of the main reasons for this obvious dis-unity is self-hate.

"We as a group of people in this land hold down a unique position in this hypocritical society in which we live. We are unique in this respect, we were brought to this land in cruel bondage, taken from our ancestral lands and brought here to build a nation for the hunkie with our lives, our blood, our sweat and our strong backs, because whitey was to damn lazy and no good to do this himself.

"As a reward for slavery & servitude we were systematically stripped of our manhood, racial pride, and self respect. The man, hunkie, whitey, beast or whatever you want to call him, literally taught us how to hate ourselves and our fellow brothers.

"This process of emasculation enacted against us have left us as empty as a shell, with no foundation to stand on. As a result, here we are today ashamed of ourselves and our race, although many of us will not admit to this personally, but as a racial group this is self evident in many ways. It shows up the false class distinction we have tried to construct among ourselves, commonly called

the black middle class or black..... (words eradicated and continuation in same paragraph the following)
A g r o u p of black people who have worked hard to obtain a certain economical status and then find themselves trying to dissassociate themselves from the black masses. So, what is this but dis-unity. Another way this shows up is in complexion consciousness. Many black brothers & sisters are ashamed of the dark, but beautiful, hue of their skin and the natural texture of their hair. By the same token, many lighter skinned brothers & sisters have the foolish notion that this makes them more acceptable to whitey than there darker brothers. So, what is this but dis-unity.

"One of the most saddening ways this self-hatred is shown is in the violence & larceny that brothers commit against fellow brothers. It's almost as if they are saying, 'Nigger! I am tired of you reminding me of what I am.' So, what does this accomplish but a general animosity towards one another.

"Black people of this city and across the land, we have to learn to be proud of what we are and to take the necessary steps to recapture the pride that this white power structure has stripped us of. This can be done through a process of re-educating ourselves as to who we really are and our true heritage. Believe me black brothers & sisters we do have truly beautiful and remarkable heritage. These steps are necessary in the building of a foundation for us to stand firmly on and this is in turn will enable us to shuck the yoke of self-condemnation the white man has placed around our necks. A tree without roots slowly dies, therefore black people, it is it is urgently necessary for us to re-discover our roots or die. With the regeneration of this long lost pride, beautiful black people, we will all be on the same road to true black unity.

"Can you imagine a proud black people standing as one, helping one another, loving one another,

working with one another for a glorious black tomorrow? Black brothers & sisters it is time for us to come together regardless of our station in life or the complexion of our skin and above all, let's learn to love one another. It can be done! By a concerned black man..... Leroy Coston

"OFFENSIVE - DEFENSE"

(George Jackson Brown's concentration camp statement, page 10)
"We must unite together and think as black people for black people, we must admit to ourselves that the power structure is our enemy. The way to overcome this enemy dog is to know him and fight him harder than we help him. (p. 5.)

"Because of our unawareness, there are times when we unconsciously help this beast, but when we began to constantly think of hurting this enemy we can work for our liberation within the framework of our daily lives. Nothing is worse than helping your enemy to defeat you and this is what the hunkie has been making us do.

"We must begin to move politically and militarily in retaliation in every aspect of our daily lives. We must try to hurt our enemy. We have to lower our defensive defense and take strategic offensive measures as our defense.

"Black organizations must began to think and act revolutionary because there is a black revolution in America and all black people are affected. The hunkie hates all black people and the hunkie is working actively against all black people. Not just SNCC! We must all work together in our fight towards overcoming our oppression. We must remember that individualism is a luxury we black people cannot afford. Once we really understand what this enemy has done and is continuing to do to us, we will understand that he is truly our enemy and anything we do to him is justified. We all understand that these racist, hunkies uses laws as their weapon for oppressing us, so we must militantly ignore them and adopt our own set of laws. Laws that are for helping black people overcome the oppressor rather than those

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which aid in our oppression. We must realize that our enemy is killing us twenty-four hours a day and it is time for our offensive defense action TODAY!"

(Source: [REDACTED] October 5, 1967)

Financial Condition of Cincinnati SNCC

[REDACTED]

(Source: [REDACTED] November 30, 1967)

The SWP has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

On November 30, 1967, it was reported that SNCC has been holding meetings on Friday nights at the Carmel Presbyterian Church which are conducted by either LEONARD BALL or TOM PORTER, or both, with an average attendance of about 45 persons. SNCC, at this time, does not have a membership roster, as such, but persons who attend meetings and indicate an interest can sign their names and addresses and contribute the sum of \$2.00 to the organization, money being one of the primary goals at this time.

(Source: [REDACTED] November 30, 1967)

SNCC Members from Dayton and Xenia, Ohio, including Central State University and Antioch College, at Cincinnati SNCC Meeting, October 24, 1967

On October 24, 1967, a meeting was held beginning at 3:00 p.m. in the first floor apartment house at Prospect and Harvey Streets, Cincinnati, for the purpose of organizing a Tri-City SNCC to comprise Cincinnati, Dayton, and Xenia, with the Xenia contingent to include Central State University, Wilberforce, Ohio, and Antioch College at Yellow Springs, Ohio. A secondary purpose was to establish communications between various Black Student List groups for getting out information on problems and deciding on courses of action. JACK B. BLAN was leader of the Cincinnati SNCC group.

FLORENCE TATE and her husband, CHARLES TATE, both of Dayton, Ohio, were there. CHARLES TATE is chairman of the Non-Violent Direct Action Committee (NVDAC) of Dayton, a civil rights organization. FLORENCE TATE is the representative in Dayton, and is the individual who established the Afro-Asian Center there. TOM PORTER and several others in Cincinnati SNCC were there, as well as several students from Antioch College and two persons from Yellow Springs; also, LUCHIE RUTHER of Xenia, Ohio; and CHARLES COBB and COUNCILMAN COB, both of whom are field representatives of national SNCC. The total at the meeting was about 20 persons.

MEMBER OF SUBJECT ORGANIZATION

(Source: [REDACTED] November 9, 1967)

Affiliation of SNCC Personnel with Various Organizations

LEONARD BALP was among persons attending a Tri-State Rally of the Nation of Islam (NOI) at the Masonic Temple Building, Beresford Avenue, Cincinnati, Ohio, on August 6, 1967.

(Source: [REDACTED] August 11, 1967)

A characterization of the NOI is contained in the appendix of this report.

On July 17, 1967, it was reported that the United Black Community Organizations (UBCO), headed by Reverend HAROLD RUNT, pastor of the Carmel Presbyterian Church, who

had been picked during the June, 1967, riots in Cincinnati to speak for it to the City Administration, was formed to get unity in the Negro community. Its membership includes TOM PORTER and LEONARD BALL, as well as representatives of other civil rights groups in Cincinnati. The source stated that it is not believed that there will ever be unity in the Negro community.

(Source: [REDACTED] July 17, 1967)

REVEREND HAROLD HUNT

The "Wall Street Journal," New York City, Midwest Edition, of July 13, 1967, carried an article captioned, "'Rebellion' in Ohio," which comments on the racial disturbance in Cincinnati. And, in part, states:

"...many Negro youngsters are looking to a new kind of leadership, one that is less willing to accept the rules of society and more willing to risk drastic action to provoke meaningful response by the white community.

"'I do not advocate violence but neither do I advocate nonviolence,' declares the Reverend HAROLD HUNT, Pastor of Carmel Presbyterian Church in this city's Negro-populated Avondale section; he is a leader in this new movement....

"Following the recent violence, Mr. Hunt has emerged as the spokesman for the younger Negro community here; he now heads a team that is negotiating with the city for 'equal justice' and 'equal employment.' The minister is well-prepared for his role. An alumnus of a Chicago training school run by protest-organizer SAUL ALINSKY, he served a brief stint in Detroit before coming here two years ago.

"'We're organizing because we know we've got to keep the pressure on to get action,' he (HUNT) declares. An evening meeting at the HUNT home, in the heart of Avondale, illuminates the strategy. Some of the Negroes present: TOM PORTER

of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). LEONARD BALL of Friends of SNCC, E. WINTHER MC CROCK of the Political Action Programming Assembly, and the Reverend RICHARD SELLERS of the West Cincinnati Presbyterian Church.

"The ostensible 'downtown' target of the HUNT campaign is City Hall, and the Negro negotiating team has presented City Manager W. C. WICHMAN and other officials with a list of sweeping demands. Many deal with incidents related to the rioting. but the most significant focus is on job opportunities..."

Political Action
Programming Assembly,
Incorporated (PAPA)

PAPA, "a group of young Negro men dedicated to creating within the Negro community the highest degree of political and economic awareness, education, and participation, has announced that it plans to seek affiliation with the Ad Hoc Coordinating Committee, which was established as a result of the rebellion which took place in Cincinnati during the week of June 12 through June 16. PAPA has pledged the full support of its membership to this organization, and had agreed to throw the full weight of its organization behind the negotiating efforts being carried out by the negotiating team headed by the Reverend HAROLD L. HUNT, Carmel Presbyterian Church," according to the July 1, 1967, "Cincinnati Herald," weekly Negro newspaper of general circulation in the Cincinnati area.

SAUL DAVID ALINSKY

SAUL DAVID ALINSKY is listed in "Who's Who In America" as born Chicago, Illinois, January 30, 1909; Ph.B., University of Chicago, 1930; LL.D. St. Procopius College, 1958. "Sociologist with Institute for Juvenile Research, Chicago, 1931-36, 1936-39; member State Prison Classification Board, Division of Criminology, Illinois State Penitentiary System, Joliet, 1933-36; co-founder Back of the Yard

Neighborhood Council (Chicago): executive director of Industrial Areas Foundation, 1939-(to present). Member of Authors League. Author: Reveille for Radicals, 1948; John L. Lewis, a Biography, 1949. Contributor of numerous publications. Lecturer on criminology, community organization and organized labor in various universities. Home: 5477 South Hyde Park Boulevard. Office: 8 South Michigan Avenue. Chicago."

The Illinois Edition of "The Worker," dated April 9, 1950, contained an article captioned, "Chicagoans To Pay Tribute To Pearl Hart." This article was as follows:

"More than 350 Chicagoans from every community and suburb will attend the Pearl Hart 60th Birthday Testimonial Dinner for this Chicago attorney. The event, which is sponsored by the Midwest Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born, takes place Saturday evening on April 8, 1950, at 7:00 p.m. in the Walnut Room of the Bismarck Hotel, Chicago. Among the many sponsors of the dinner is SAUL ALINSKY."

"The Worker" is an East Coast Communist newspaper.

A characterization of the Midwest Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born is attached hereto.

PEARL HART

During May, 1961, a former confidential source advised that on June 23 and 26, 1941, LOUIS F. BUDENZ, former National Communist Party functionary, advised that PEARL HART, a Chicago attorney, was introduced to him as a member of the Communist Party. He also reported that he was reportedly advised through reports by an Illinois Communist Party leader at National Committee meetings and through instructions to him from National Communist Party leaders that PEARL HART continued to be a member of the Communist Party up to at least October,

1945.

In May, 1961, PEARL HART continued to be the President of the Chicago Chapter of the National Lawyers Guild.

A characterization of the Chicago Chapter of the Lawyers Guild is attached hereto.

ALINSKY

On April 7, 1962, the "Chicago Daily News," a daily newspaper of general circulation in the Chicago, Illinois, area, carried an article concerning The Woodlawn Organization (TWO) and ALINSKY. This article was captioned "Object: Aid the Negro," and further, "New TWO Fights Race Problems, Methods Rouse Controversy." It, in part, stated:

"Chicago, Illinois, could become half Negro in 12 years according to University of Chicago sociologists. Chicago could be ringed by mammoth white suburbs. A controversial group in the South Side of Chicago contends that Chicago can be 'the first big, solid Negro community organization in the U.S.' Through a powerful citizens organization, its leaders assert, the Negro can solve his own problems. SAUL P. ALINSKY, a self-described 'agitator,' who admits to 'rubbing raw the sores of discontent,' says his goal is the peaceful integration of the entire area -- city and suburbs.

"But, its opponents have claimed it is a 'hate group' attempting to freeze the Negroes in segregated communities while practicing 'the ruthlessness of the class war.' Negro voters march on City Hall. Negro mothers 'sit-in' in slum buildings. A group called The Woodlawn Organization (TWO) has organized the slums. Has the controversial young Woodlawn Organization, formerly The Temporary Woodlawn Organization, helped the cause of racial understanding in Chicago? 'Yes,' said TWO's founder, SAUL P. ALINSKY.

'No,' said five protestant pastors. ALINSKY organized the famous Back of the Yard Neighborhood Council in the 1930's in Chicago..."

On January 11, 1965, a confidential source, an agency which collects security-type information in the Chicago, Illinois, area, furnished a report concerning the Industrial Areas Foundation (IAF). The IAF, 8 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, was established and incorporated in 1940. The purpose of this organization is to study the causes of the problems in American industrial areas, and to aid in the development of programs for the solution of these problems.

A secondary purpose of the IAF is to act as a consultant in guiding staff development and the training of personnel in community organizations. The IAF is supported by voluntary contributions, and it promotes the development of indigenous community organizations.

SAUL DAVID ALINSKY is Executive Secretary of the IAF. The IAF was an instrument used in the organization of more than 30 per cent of Chicago, Illinois, for social action. One such organization formed by the IAF was The Woodlawn Organization (TWO), a group formed on the South Side of Chicago in 1961 and used primarily for promoting racial integration in their local areas... Since 1941, ALINSKY has started approximately 44 power based organizations through the country, and has supplied organizing tools and organizers for many communities that have asked for them. ALINSKY has been known to be an opportunist who would use any friendship or contact to advance his own aims. When civil rights questions concerning housing, job opportunities and neighborhoods became the prime objection of various racial and religious groups in the Chicago area, ALINSKY entered this field of endeavor, and assisted in the formation of various neighborhood organizations.

[REDACTED]

(Source: [REDACTED] October 2, 1967)

Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU)

On August 13, 1966, the "Cincinnati Herald," weekly Negro newspaper in Cincinnati, published an OAAU statement setting out that it was organized "as a working base for an action program designed to eliminate the political oppression, economic exploitation, and social degradation suffered daily by 22 million Afro-Americans...no action program will work unless it is controlled completely by Afro-Americans...We do not want any money from Whitey...This program...is one to show our people how to gain control over the politics, economy, and social and civic affairs of our community... must re-educate our people so that they will be willing to shoulder the responsibility of running our own community...We are asking Negroes to... vote as a block for Negro candidates only...We believe every policeman assigned to a Negro community should be Negro. In the wave of recent riots, it has been only Negroes killed by trigger happy police that are mostly white...Furthermore the White Policeman is a symbol of White domination and oppression, and the Negro is fed up with this practice..."

A characterization of Organization of Afro-American Unity, Incorporated (OAAU) is contained in the appendix.

LEONARD BALL is a member of the OAAU, which set up the Black Arts Studio, 726 East McMillan Street, Cincinnati,

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operated by TOM PORTER and his partner, HENRY JONES.

(Source: [REDACTED] June 16, 1967)

Miscellaneous Activity of Cincinnati SNCC

The January 11, 1968, "Cincinnati Post and Times Star," supra, had item that SNCC "'opposes and repudiates' the appointment of Mrs. VIRGINIA COFFEY as new executive director of the Cincinnati Human Relations Commission. SNCC says Mrs. COFFEY (who is Negro) 'knows nothing about the black community' and contends the appointment is 'the white power structure once again picking leaders for the black community.' The appointment, SNCC says, was 'made for the convenience and service of white people only. The HRC never has been that effective and will be even less so now. The big question is: How long will the black community tolerate this effrontery and insult?'"

The Uhuru Festival (Uhuru is Swahili word for "Unity") sponsored by the United Black Community Organizations (UBCO), Cincinnati, Ohio, 12/27-30/67, at the Carmel Presbyterian Church, the minister of which is Reverend HAROLD HUNT, chairman of UBCO, was participated in by Cincinnati SNCC leaders. Local SNCC chairman THOMAS J. PORTER handled a workshop on "Education in Revolution," beginning at 1:00 p.m., December 30, 1967. "He spoke about everyone being segregated by the white people, such as the Jews, Negroes and the Indians. He said HITLER killed six million Jews and this is what 'whitey' is planning to do to the Negroes; that 'when you are arrested, you are under arrest, but that if you knock the cop down on his back then you are no longer under arrest'; that the black people should set up their own form of government in Avondale (predominantly Negro area of Cincinnati) and call it 'Blacksville' with roadblocks to keep 'whitey' out; and that when a black man is arrested, he is tried by a white man in a black robe who is a racist. He claimed that the white man pushes his unqualified friends into positions that they don't deserve, and that when he (PORTER) gets his degree (from University of Cincinnati, where he has had a Danforth Scholarship) he is going to help his black friends into places of responsibility."

(Source: [REDACTED] January 4, 1968)

WILMA TONEY, of Cincinnati SNCC, handled a workshop on "Individuals' Role in the Revolution," at the Carmel Church, 1:00 p.m., December 29, 1967. She started with the history of NAT TURNER, then spoke on the difference in unity of black families as opposed to unity among white families, and how to educate black children by buying black dolls instead of white ones, as well as using the word "black" instead of "Negro."

(Source: [REDACTED] January 4, 1968)

LEONARD BALL, of Cincinnati SNCC, spoke at a workshop on December 28, 1967, beginning about 1:00 p.m., on the subject of "Black Power as a Political Concept; The Press and the Black Community." BALL "talked about a magazine article; then complained about the lack of colored news commentators on TV and in commercials. He also stated that 'concentration camps all over the U. S. were being renovated to put the Negroes in as the whites want to make them an extinct race.' BALL also attended the festival on December 30, 1967, but didn't speak."

(Source: [REDACTED] January 4, 1968)

The Uhuru Festival was a failure because of "the small attendance at the workshops held during the afternoon hours of December 27-30, 1967, when many persons had to work, and because the scheduled main speaker, Reverend ALBERT CLEAGE, of Detroit, a Black Power advocate, did not show. Only about 50 persons attended the main meeting the evening of December 30, 1967, when a seminar was held by local people in place of the speech by Reverend CLEAGE."

(Source: [REDACTED] January 2, 1968)

During August, 1967, JAMES HARRIS, of Lincoln Heights, Ohio (Cincinnati incorporated suburb of practically 100% Negro population) cooperated with Cincinnati SNCC leaders in obtaining approval of the local Board of Education for a speaking appearance by H. RAP BROWN, national SNCC chairman, at a Black Power meeting to be held in the Lincoln Heights School auditorium on August 19, 1967. Approval for BROWN's appearance was viewed in the community as a victory of the Black Power advocates over the moderate citizens. The community became divided over the Black Power concept

and many bitter arguments followed, extending to division among members of the same family. Many persons in Lincoln Heights feared racial rioting would follow BROWN's appearance. BROWN did not appear on August 19, 1967, as he was incarcerated in New York City after an arrest. The rally, however, was held in the school auditorium without BROWN, and SNCC leaders addressed the audience, praising SNCC and advocating Black Power. No white persons were allowed in the Lincoln Heights school that evening.

(Source: [REDACTED] January 4, 1968)

[REDACTED]

(Source: [REDACTED] November 29, 1967)

LEONARD BALL, "Education Director of Cincinnati SNCC", announced that there would be a Youth Conference and Workshop in the afternoon, together with a public rally later, on Saturday, October 21, 1967, from 12:00 noon to 6:30 p.m., and at 7:30 p.m. at the Carmel Presbyterian Church, Reading Road and Lee Place, according to the October 21, 1967, "Cincinnati Herald," supra. Scheduled speakers were CLEVELAND SELLARS, Director of the South Carolina Chapter of SNCC; COURTLANDT COX of the SNCC national staff; and ERNEST STEVENS, Campus Coordinator of SNCC.

Reverend HAROLD HUNT led the workshop, along with LEONARD BALL. It was attended by about 13 persons, who were given talks on education and how to prepare for leadership. At the public rally in the evening, there were about 47 persons, speakers including ERNEST STEVENS and COURTLANDT COX of national SNCC. SELLARS did not appear at either session.

(Source: [REDACTED] October 25, 1967)

In the August 3, 1967, edition of the "Cincinnati Post and Times Star," supra, was an article concerning a law suit filed by LEONARD BALL and other members of SNCC, as well as the local chapter of SNCC, and the national SNCC, against the Cincinnati Safety Director, Chief of Police, and other city officials. The suit filed in U. S. District Court asked that the court prevent local courts from prosecuting SNCC members on charges ranging from arson to carrying a concealed weapon. They also wanted local law enforcement officials prohibited from presenting evidence against them before the county grand jury on charges against them. The suit also wanted local officials to be prevented from 'impeding or intimidating' them or their supporters or friends, and from interfering with their rights guaranteed by the U. S. Constitution and Federal laws. SNCC was unsuccessful in this injunction action, which was denied by U. S. District Court Judge DAVID S. PORTER on August 1, 1967, according to the August 4, 1967, "Cincinnati Post and Times Star."

There was racial disturbance in Cincinnati, Ohio, beginning shortly before 10:00 p.m. on Monday, June 12, 1967, which lasted until 6:00 a.m., Sunday, June 18, 1967. The disturbance began after a protest meeting the evening of June 12, 1967, in front of the Samuel Ach Junior High School over the arrest of PETER FRANKS early Sunday, June 11, 1967, for traffic interference while picketing in front of the Cincinnati City Hall in protest of the conviction in April, 1967, of POSTAL LASKEY, a Negro, for the murder of BARBARA BOWMAN, a white woman, and to emphasize the right of freedom of assembly. Among those who spoke to the protest crowd was LEONARD BALL, chairman of local Friends of SNCC, who was subsequently seen in an area of disturbance talking to small groups, but then left.

(Source: [REDACTED] June 19, 1967)

[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

(Source: [REDACTED] June 16, 1967)

On April 29, 1967, the then SNCC national chairman, STOKELY CARMICHAEL, spoke at a mass rally at the Carmel Presbyterian Church beginning about 8:00 p.m. CARMICHAEL spoke "about the background of the Negro in Africa, how everything was stripped from the Negro by the whites, and that the Capitalist system exists to keep Negroes subservient, with no hope for Negro liberation or freedom without destruction of the system. After the speech, LEONARD BALL took up collections for the Friends of SNCC. The rally was attended by FLORENCE TATE, a SNCC representative from Dayton, Ohio."

(Source: [REDACTED], May 4, 1967)

DAYTON, OHIO, SNCC

Black Liberation Party (BLP)

T [REDACTED]

A characterization of MALCOLM X (LITTLE), former national officer of the Nation of Islam (NOI) and founder of the Muslim Mosque, Inc., (MMI), is contained in the appendix of this report, which includes characterizations of the NOI and MMI.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

(Source: [REDACTED] November 1, 1967)

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

(Source: [REDACTED] June 21, 1967)

W. SUMPTER MC INTOSH

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] advised in 1949 that W. SUMPTER MC INTOSH was a member of the CP at Dayton, Ohio, from 1945 to 1948. [REDACTED] said MC INTOSH was not very active but did attend a number of meetings of the Party. [REDACTED] stated that to his knowledge, MC INTOSH was not a member of the CP during the year 1949.

Programs and Activities of SNCC Wherein Its Personnel Were Involved in Planning of or Engaging in Violence

II. RAP BROWN, SNCC national chairman, spoke at

the West Side Job Rally, 2301 West Third Street, on June 14, 1967, beginning at 8:00 p.m. The June 15, 1967, "Dayton Daily News," a daily newspaper of general circulation in the Dayton area, carried an article entitled "Brown Raps 'Honkies,' but Not Like Stokely." The article quoted BROWN in regard to the press as stating, "Newspapers are a weapon against black people... after each rebellion they call it a riot...dig 'em; they are out to get you." BROWN was also quoted as stating in regard to Black Power that, "We ain't seeking no love. We're seeking power, and the 'honkie' better understand that."

[REDACTED] advised FBI Special Agents in June, 1967, that after the West Side Job Rally about 9:45 p.m. on June 14, 1967, small groups of unorganized Negroes began gathering in the area of Third and Williams Streets, Dayton. Rocks and bottles were thrown at police cars and passing automobiles; some shop windows were broken and there was some scattered looting. The disturbances continued into the morning hours of June 15, 1967, with a continuation to a lesser extent the evening of June 15, 1967, and early morning hours of June 16, 1967. [REDACTED] stated he was convinced that the rally at which H. RAP BROWN spoke triggered the disturbance.

[REDACTED] advised an FBI Special Agent that he blamed the outbreak on the meeting, stating that he thought it triggered the disturbance.

XENIA, OHIO, SNCC, INCLUDING WILBERFORCE,
OHIO, AND YELLOW SPRINGS, OHIO

Disturbance at Central State University (CSU), Wilberforce,
Ohio, SNCC, with Support from Antioch College and National
and Cincinnati SNCC Officers

[REDACTED]

Violence broke out on the CSU campus on November 13, 1967, according to the November 17, 1967, edition of "The Record," published weekly by Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio, when school was in session, when police attempted to arrest MICHAEL WARREN, a CSU senior and SNCC leader, who had been expelled for allegedly threatening the life of the president of Wilberforce University, which is also a predominantly Negro college at Wilberforce, Ohio. CSU is about five miles south of Antioch College. There was a day and a half of disturbance and fighting between police authorities and students with numerous arrests of students and some non-students. Several SNCC members told the Antioch College newspaper, "The Record," that the administration expelled student MICHAEL WARREN in an attempt to destroy the SNCC chapter.

[REDACTED]

(Source: [REDACTED] various dates beginning in November, 1967)

LEONARD BALL, of Cincinnati SNCC, is quoted in the November 18, 1967, "Cincinnati Herald," supra, as stating during the previous week that "a team of SNCC leaders were en route to the embattled university (CSU) to organize and stage demonstrations, sit-ins, and 'anything necessary' to have our brother SNCC member reinstated."

The November 17, 1967, issue of "The Record," supra, pointed out that the CSU trustees ordered the university closed November 15, 1967, with students to be advised of the time of the reopening of the school.

On November 14, 1967, [REDACTED] advised that about 5:00 p.m. that date, approximately 40 Antioch College students from Yellow Springs, Ohio, staged a peaceful demonstration in

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Xenia to show their support for CSU students.

On December 4, 1967, [REDACTED] advised that conditions at CSU have been quiet since the school reopened after the Thanksgiving holidays.

A P P E N D I X

NATION OF ISLAM, Formerly Referred to as
THE MUSLIM CULT OF ISLAM, also known
as MUHAMMAD'S TEMPLES OF ISLAM

In January, 1957, a source advised Elijah Muhammad has described his organization on a nationwide basis as the "Nation of Islam" and "Muhammad's Temples of Islam."

On May 5, 1967, a second source advised Elijah Muhammad is the national leader of the Nation of Islam (NOI); Muhammad's Temple of Islam No. 2, 5335 South Greenwood Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, is the national headquarters of the NOI; and in mid-1960 Muhammad and other NOI officials, when referring to Muhammad's organization on a nationwide basis, commenced using either "Mosque" or "Temple" when mentioning one of "Muhammad's Temples of Islam."

The NOI is an all-Negro organization which was originally organized in 1930 in Detroit, Michigan. Muhammad claims to have been selected by Allah, the Supreme Being, to lead the so-called Negro race out of slavery in the wilderness of North America by establishing an independent black nation in the United States. Members following Muhammad's teachings and his interpretation of the "Koran" believe there is no such thing as a Negro; the so-called Negroes are slaves of the white race, referred to as "white devils," in the United States; and the white race, because of its exploitation of the so-called Negroes, must and will be destroyed in the approaching "War of Armageddon."

In the past, officials and members of the NOI, including Muhammad, have refused to register under the provisions of the Selective Service Acts and have declared that members owe no allegiance to the United States.

On May 5, 1958, the first source advised Muhammad had, upon advice of legal counsel, tempered his personal statements and instructions to his ministers concerning the principles of the organization in order to avoid possible prosecution by the United States Government; however, he did not indicate any fundamental changes in the teachings of his organization.

On May 2, 1966, a third source advised Muhammad had, in early July, 1958, decided to de-emphasize the religious aspects of the teachings of Islam and to stress the economic benefits to be derived by those Negroes who joined the NOI. This policy change, according to Muhammad, would help him acquire additional followers and create more interest in his programs.

A P P E N D I X

MIDWEST COMMITTEE FOR PROTECTION OF FOREIGN BORN

The Midwest Committee for Protection of Foreign Born (MCPFB) since the latter part of March, 1962, has maintained an office in Room 422-424, Manhattan Building, 431 South Dearborn Street, Chicago, Illinois.

On July 16, 1947, Joseph Albert Poskonka, a member of the Communist Party (CP) from 1944 to about 1948, advised that the MCPFB was founded at a conference held in Chicago, Illinois, on May 25, 1947, and the MCPFB was to operate as the midwest organization of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, (ACPFB).

On May 5, 1955, a source advised that in a "Statement of Principles," issued in April, 1955, by the MCPFB, it was noted that "The purpose of the Midwest Committee shall be to seek to perpetuate for the foreign born the fundamental concepts of equality, regardless of race, color, creed, nationality, political belief or place of birth, and to preserve the basic ideals of liberty and hospitality, which serve as the guarantees of democracy for all Americans."

A second source as of May 15, 1964, advised that the MCPFB continued to function as the midwest organization of the ACPFB, and still adhered to its "Statement of Principles" last published in 1955.

The ACPFB has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

A P P E N D I X

NATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD, CHICAGO CHAPTER

A source advised on May 14, 1964, that it was his understanding that the National Lawyers Guild (NLG) was formed around 1936 in New York City, and that the Chicago Chapter of the NLG (CCNLG), which is affiliated with the national group in New York, was formed shortly thereafter, possibly in 1937, by a group of liberal progressive lawyers in protest against activities of the American Bar Association which they claimed was a non-liberal, non-progressive organization. The CCNLG has no established headquarters, but occasionally uses the return address of its officials on literature.

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published December 1, 1961, by the Committee on Un-American Activities, U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., states as follows on Page 121 concerning the NLG:

"1. Cited as a Communist front.

(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p. 149).

"2. Cited as a Communist front which 'is the foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party, its front organizations, and controlled unions' and which 'since its inception has never failed to rally to the legal defense of the Communist Party and individual members thereof, including known espionage agents.'

(Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 3123 on the National Lawyers Guild, September 21, 1950, originally related September 17, 1950.)

"3. 'To defend the cases of Communist lawbreakers, fronts have been devised making special appeals in behalf of civil liberties and reaching out far beyond the confines of the Communist Party itself. Among these organizations are the * * * National Lawyers Guild. When the Communist Party itself is under fire, these offer a bulwark of protection.

(Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Handbook for Americans, S. Doc. 117, April 23, 1956, p. 91.)"

A P P E N D I X

ORGANIZATION OF AFRO-AMERICAN UNITY, INCORPORATED (OAAU)

On June 28, 1964, Malcolm X. Little, founder and leader of the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated (MMI), publicly announced the formation of a new, all Negro, militant civil rights action group to be known as the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU), with himself as chairman. This announcement was made at a public rally held by the MMI in the Audubon Ballroom, Broadway and 166th Street, New York City.

A printed and published statement of basic OAAU aims read by Malcolm X at this meeting indicates that it shall include "all" people of African descent in the Western Hemisphere, as well as "our" brothers and sisters on the African continent. It is patterned after the "letter and spirit" of the Organization of African Unity established (by African heads of States) at Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, in May, 1963.

A recording of the remarks of Malcolm X at this meeting indicates that the aim of the OAAU is to eliminate differences between Negroes so they can work together for "human rights," while the initial objective is to "internationalize" the American civil rights movement by taking it to the United Nations. Little condemned the non-violent civil rights movement, and claims that Negroes should be taught to protect themselves, when and if necessary. The OAAU will sponsor a program for Negroes of education, politics, culture, economics, and social reform.

On May 17, 1965, a confidential source advised that the headquarters of the OAAU are located in MMI headquarters, Suite 128, Hotel Theresa, 2090 Seventh Avenue, New York City.

Malcolm X was assassinated on February 21, 1965, while addressing an OAAU rally at the Audubon Ballroom, New York City.

On April 13, 1965, a second confidential source advised that on March 26, 1965, the OAAU filed a Certificate of Incorporation with the Department of State, State of New York, Albany, New York, and, henceforth, the organization's true name will be Organization of Afro-American Unity, Incorporated.

Characterization of MMI is contained in the appendix.

A P P E N D I X

MUSLIM MOSQUE, INCORPORATED (MMI)

The March 13, 1964, edition of "The New York Times," a daily newspaper published in New York, New York, contained an article on Page 20, which indicated that Malcolm X (Little), former national official of the Nation of Islam (NOI), who broke with the NOI on March 8, 1964, publicly announced in New York City on March 12, 1964, that he had formed the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated (MMI). The MMI, according to the article, would be a broadly based politically oriented black nationalist movement for Negroes only, financed by voluntary contributions. In this public statement, Malcolm X urged Negroes to abandon the doctrine of non-violence when it is necessary to defend themselves in the civil rights struggle, and he also suggested that Negroes form rifle clubs to protect their lives and property in time of emergencies in areas where the government is unable or unwilling to protect them.

Incorporation papers of the MMI filed on March 16, 1964, with the Business Section, Clerk of Courts, New York County, New York, New York, reflect that the MMI was incorporated under the Religious Corporation Law of the State of New York to work for the imparting of the Islamic Faith and Islamic Religion in accordance with "accepted Islamic principles." The principal place of worship to be located in the Borough of Manhattan, New York, New York.

The May 23, 1964, edition of the "New York Amsterdam News," a weekly Negro newspaper published in New York City, contained an article by columnist, James Booker, in which he indicated that he had heard that the visit by Malcolm X with Muslim leaders during his African tour has changed him to become more religious.

On October 6, 1964, a confidential source advised that the MMI is apparently affiliated with the true orthodox Islamic Religion through its affiliation with the Islamic Foundation (of New York), 1 Riverside Drive, New York City. The only teachings of the MMI are on the Islamic Religion.

This confidential source advised on May 17, 1965, that the headquarters of the MMI are located in Suite 128, Hotel Theresa, 2090 Seventh Avenue, New York, New York, where they were

Confidential

established on March 16, 1964. These headquarters are shared with the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU), which was also headed by Malcolm X.

Malcolm X was assassinated on February 21, 1965, while addressing an OAAU rally at the Audubon Ballroom, Broadway and 166th Street, New York City.

Confidential

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Cincinnati, Ohio
January 17, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. CI 100-14158

Title STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING
 COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character INTERNAL SECURITY - SNCC

Reference Report of SA [REDACTED]
 dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE CINCINNATI	OFFICE OF ORIGIN ATLANTA	DATE 6/18/68	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 1/17 - 6/11/68
TITLE OF CASE STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)		REPORT MADE BY SA [REDACTED]	TYPED BY JMS
		CHARACTER OF CASE RACIAL MATTERS	

REFERENCE: Report of SA [REDACTED] 1/17/68, at Cincinnati.

- P -

ADMINISTRATIVE:

For purposes of brevity and clarity, the essence of data re the Cincinnati SNCC organization, as furnished by informants and other sources, was set forth only, and unnecessary minor repetitive information eliminated consistent with content and accuracy.

Less significant and non-specific data more relative to the activities of the individual SNCC members, with the exception of pertinent leadership information, has also not been set forth, and will be appropriately reported in the files of the pertinent subjects.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS: NONE

Case has been: Pending over one year ☒ Yes ☐ No; Pending prosecution over six months ☐ Yes ☒ No

APPROVED	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW
COPIES MADE: 10 - Bureau (100-439190) (RM) 1 - 109th MIG, Cincinnati, Ohio (RM) 1 - NISO, Cincinnati, Ohio (RM) 1 - OSI, Cincinnati, Ohio (RM) 1 - Secret Service, Cincinnati, Ohio (RM) 2 - Atlanta (100-6488) (RM) 2 - Louisville (157-35) (RM) 5 - Cincinnati (4 - 100-14158) (1 - 157-1682)		<div style="font-size: 2em; font-weight: bold;">10-38</div> <div style="font-weight: bold;">REC-77</div> <div style="font-weight: bold;">EX-100</div>
Dissemination Record of Attached Report		Notations
Agency	[REDACTED]	
Request recd.		
Date Fwd.	7-3-68	
How Fwd.	15	
By	TJD	

CI 100-14158

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

No specific lead for Louisville has been set forth in instant report in view of above; however, two copies instant report have been designated for Louisville.

[REDACTED]

Additionally, instant report has been classified "CONFIDENTIAL" to further protect the identities of the sources who furnished data set forth therein, disclosure of which would be prejudicial to the security interests of the U.S.

- B -
Cover Page

CI 100-14158

INFORMANTS:

<u>Identity of Source</u>	<u>Location</u>
[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]	Instant report
[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]	DE 157-2413

LEADS

CINCINNATI

AT DAYTON, OHIO

Will follow and report activities of SNCC in Dayton area.

Will similarly follow and report on SNCC activities in Xenia, as well as Wilberforce and Yellow Springs, Ohio.

AT CINCINNATI, OHIO

Will similarly follow and report pertinent activities of Cincinnati chapter of SNCC.

AT COLUMBUS, OHIO

Will follow with informants and sources for any SNCC activity in the Columbus area.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to: 1 - 109th MIG, Cincinnati, Ohio (RM)
1 - NISO, Cincinnati, Ohio (RM)
1 - OSI, Cincinnati, Ohio (RM)
1 - Secret Service, Cincinnati, Ohio (RM)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Report of: SA [REDACTED]
Date: June 18, 1968

Office: CINCINNATI

Field Office File #: 100-14158

Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title: STUDENT NON-VIOLENT
COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character: RACIAL MATTERS

Synopsis:

Confidential sources identify leadership of Cincinnati SNCC and furnish data re SNCC [REDACTED] headquarters, membership, and meetings.

[REDACTED] Recent past to present activities described, including presence and speeches by national leaders, Dayton and Cincinnati, conferences at colleges, travel by local leaders, interest in firearms, meetings with teenage students and subsequent high school demonstrations, racial disturbance in Cincinnati, and recent involvement with Republic of New Africa programs.

- P -

DETAILS:

A characterization of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) is contained in the Appendix of this report.

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CURRENT LEADERSHIP, FUNDS, HEADQUARTERS, MEMBERSHIP,
AND MEETINGS OF CINCINNATI SNCC

LEADERSHIP

On May 23, 1968, [REDACTED] confirmed the leadership of the Cincinnati SNCC as follows, all of whom are residents of Cincinnati, Ohio, except as indicated:

Chairman:	THOMAS JAMES PORTER
Program Director:	LEROY COSTON
Secretary:	LANA MITCHELL
Treasurer:	PATRICIA PEARL
Fund-raising:	WILMA TONEY
Security:	GEORGE HUGHES
Field Representative:	WILLIAM HERMAN PAYNE, located Alabama

On May 28, 1968, the source advised that WILMA TONEY, although for the time being still carried on the membership rolls of Cincinnati SNCC, had resigned to devote full-time to other Negro organizational activities, and the position previously filled by her was vacant.

Concerning PAYNE, above, the source stated on January 30, 1968, that PAYNE is the only Cincinnati member of SNCC presently operating as a field representative, and is attached to the Atlanta headquarters of SNCC, although he has been working continuously in the area of Selma, Alabama. The source stated PAYNE's title is called Executive Secretary of the Alabama Project; that he is still considered a Cincinnati member of SNCC; and if PAYNE should encounter difficulties of any kind, it is the responsibility of Cincinnati SNCC to provide whatever assistance is necessary.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

HEADQUARTERS

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

On May 28, 1968, [REDACTED] advised that henceforth the new Cincinnati headquarters would be located in the Jewish Temple at Rockdale and Harvey Streets, Cincinnati, Ohio. The source stated PORTER obtained the headquarters from the Avondale Community Council, who exercises control over the Rockdale Temple, and PORTER paid the sum of \$25.00 for one year's use of an office and/or classroom located on the second floor of the above Temple.

MEMBERSHIP - MEETINGS

On May 23, 1968, [REDACTED] confirmed the total present membership of Cincinnati SNCC as 19, which number includes the leadership above, WILLIAM HERMAN PAYNE, the Field Representative, and four new SNCC members whose membership was effective approximately March 15, 1968. The source added, however, that PORTER indicated serious intentions of expanding the membership in the immediate future to include several teenage Negroes, who had exhibited considerable enthusiasm on the high school level.

The source confirmed that weekly meetings are generally conducted on Wednesday evenings unless circumstances require a change or cancellation as determined by the leaders.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

GENERAL SOUTHERN OHIO SNCC ACTIVITIES AND/OR PARTICIPATION - RECENT PAST TO PRESENT

On December 18, 1967 [REDACTED] advised that at 8:30 p.m. on November 3, 1967, a meeting of the Tri-City SNCC was held at the Afro American Center, 309 North Broadway, Dayton, Ohio.

This source had previously advised October 28, 1967, that Tri-City SNCC encompassed Cincinnati, Dayton, and Xenia, all Ohio, with the Xenia contingent to include Central State University (CSU) at Wilberforce, Ohio, and Antioch College, at Yellow Springs, Ohio.

[REDACTED] advised that CHARLES TATE, who is also the Chairman of the Dayton Alliance For Racial Equality (DARE), a civil rights organization in Dayton, Ohio, was the main speaker and discussed forming a newspaper which would be a communications link between the various cities of Tri-City SNCC.

It was decided that the Afro American Center in Dayton would be the headquarters for Tri-City SNCC, and that each city would have three members who could vote on decisions; however, the total number in attendance from each city would be unlimited.

[REDACTED] advised January 4, 1968, that on November 10, 1967, another meeting of the Tri-City SNCC occurred at the above address at which the establishment of a newspaper was again discussed, and a decision was also made that meetings of Tri-City SNCC would rotate between the cities involved.

The newspaper, "Yellow Springs News," Yellow Springs, Ohio, Page 1, carried an article which stated that a branch office of SNCC had recently opened at 221 Xenia Avenue.

The article stated SNCC workers were organizing the office and getting a supply of literature, posters, buttons, and so forth, and planned to serve the Springfield - Dayton area. The SNCC workers indicated that the public was welcome to come in for a visit, to chat, or just look around.

CI 100-14158

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

On February 9, 1968, SAs of the FBI observed STOKELY CARMICHAEL and WILLIAM HALL, above, depart from the Greater Cincinnati Airport, Erlanger, Kentucky, at 12:50 p.m., via American Airlines Flight 476, en route to Washington, D.C.

[REDACTED] advised that date that CARMICHAEL had been absent from his hotel room, above, for approximately two hours

during February 8, 1968, during which time he attended a speech given by JAMES FARMER, former Director of Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), to an audience of about 400 persons at the Wesley Methodist Chapel, Cincinnati, Ohio. The source stated CARMICHAEL was accompanied by Cincinnati SNCC leader, PORTER, and upon the conclusion of FARMER's speech, CARMICHAEL returned to the Sheraton Gibson Hotel to address the Negro Methodist Ministers at a closed meeting at approximately midnight in the Roof Garden of the hotel.

The source stated that following the speech above, CARMICHAEL, in his hotel rooms with all members of Cincinnati SNCC, held a party and continued discussions similar to that previously carried on in Dayton, Ohio, at the TATE residence above.

The newspaper, "Cincinnati Enquirer," Page 3D, issue of February 11, 1968, carried an article which stated, in essence, that STOKELY CARMICHAEL told a group of Negro Methodist Ministers to go into the streets and help the poor. He told the Ministers that the church should not be geared toward the middle class, but that its job was helping the poor. The article stated that CARMICHAEL, who has a Methodist background, said the church was the only agent within the Negro community which could bring about cohesiveness among the Negro people.

[REDACTED] on February 13, 1968, advised that JAMES FARMER, former National Chairman of CORE, spoke at the Wesley Methodist Chapel, Cincinnati, Ohio, at 8:00 p.m. on February 8, 1968, at which time FARMER, in essence, stated Negroes have been programmed by a racist society; that it was necessary for Negroes to unify in order to de-program stereotyping, and that Negroes will never achieve full citizenship in this country according to the history of slavery.

[REDACTED] stated that in attendance at the above speech was STOKELY CARMICHAEL, and following FARMER's speech, all the Cincinnati SNCC members gathered around CARMICHAEL as he departed from the Wesley Chapel.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

On March 5, 1968, [REDACTED] stated that on February 15, 1968, at 8:00 p.m., a general meeting was held at the Afro-American Center, 303 North Broadway, Dayton, Ohio, at which time MARVIN WILSON was the guest speaker.

WILSON described himself as a national SNCC Field Representative, who would for a period of time work with all the black organizations in Dayton to unify them. WILSON stated he would involve all the black organizations whether they were willing or unwilling, and would work in the streets with those Negroes who have not been involved in any group activity.

WILSON stated the black people have been non-violent too long, and it was time they stood up and did something necessary for their liberation.





[REDACTED] advised February 19, 1968, that on February 16, 1968, LEROY JONES, Negro poet, spoke before about 1,500 persons, of which about fifty were white, in the University of Cincinnati "OT Wilson Auditorium" beginning at 8:00 p.m., in connection with Negro History Week. JONES was invited by the United Black Association (UBA), which is a recently formed student Negro organization at UC, the purposes of which are "to enable the black student to acquaint himself better with community facilities and to be aware of and assist in any community problems involving the Negro; and to assist the black student in any way possible," according to the UBA spokesman in connection with the introduction of LEROY JONES. The person who introduced JONES with "He's alive. He's here. He's our cat LEROY!" was THOMAS J. PORTER, Chairman of the Cincinnati Chapter of SNCC.

LEROY JONES

"After four days in jail, LEROY JONES was released Tuesday, January 9, 1968, from Trenton State Prison on \$25,000.00 bail, pending appeal of his conviction for illegal possession of two pistols during the Newark rioting last summer," according to a United Press International release datelined Trenton, New Jersey, in the January 9, 1968, "Cincinnati Post and Times Star," daily newspaper of general circulation in the Cincinnati area. It points out that JONES and two other men were sentenced..., JONES' sentence being 2½ to 3 years.

"Life" Magazine of June 10, 1966, in an article captioned "Plotting a War on 'Whitey,'" quotes

"LEROY JONES, the brilliant and bitter playwright who is, if not a leader of black extremism, surely one of its most eloquent spokesmen," as stating, "'What the black man needs is an absolute world of his own values. This is not realistic with the white man alive. I do not think it possible that we can wish him away.'" It also quotes him as saying, "I don't think it is necessary to make anything clear to the white man except perhaps that most of the people in the world would be better off if the white man didn't exist."



[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

On March 5, 1968 [REDACTED] had also advised that he had learned that LEONARD BALL, former Program Director, resigned from Cincinnati SNCC and moved to Washington, D.C. on March 2, 1968.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

The newspaper, "Cincinnati Enquirer," Page 7D, issue of March 17, 1968, carried an article titled, "Struggle For Survival

Cited by SNCC Leader," which stated, in essence, that CLEVELAND SELLERS, described as a National Field Director of SNCC, in a speech at the Mt. Zion Methodist Church, 3025 Walter Street, Cincinnati, stated that the black man's struggle in America is a struggle for survival. The article further related that SELLERS stated that if the Negroes do not come together and develop a black conscious philosophy, the white man was going to kill the Negroes off, and SELLERS also accused the Federal Government of Negro genocide by reason of the deaths of several Negro militant leaders in the recent past.

[REDACTED] advised March 25, 1968, that FLORENCE TATE, of Dayton, Ohio, above, used to work on a Mississippi project for SNCC that she is much more knowledgeable about SNCC and its activities than her husband, CHARLES TATE, and source opined that she has closer association with National SNCC than anyone else in the area, possibly even a minor position of some type, because anyone from National SNCC or speakers, etc. coming to Ohio, consistently go to Dayton first to see FLORENCE TATE.

[REDACTED] advised April 1, 1968, that Cincinnati SNCC Officers, LEROY COSTON, Program Director, and LANA MITCHELL, Secretary, attended a conference in Detroit, Michigan, on March 30 and 31, 1968, where a "Black Man's Constitution" was drafted for the creation of a separate nation of Negroes within the United States, to be subsequently presented to the U.S. Government.

[REDACTED] advised March 25, 1968, he had learned that all members of Cincinnati SNCC were scheduled to travel to Washington, D.C. for the period, April 12 - 14, 1968, to participate in a SNCC anti-draft demonstration, and that Cincinnati SNCC planned to charter a bus for 38 passengers.

On April 1, 1968, [REDACTED] advised that LEONARD BILL, above, returned to Cincinnati, Ohio, from Washington, D.C. for a visit, and instructed Cincinnati SNCC that the above demonstration in Washington, D.C. was not finalized as to details; consequently,

Cincinnati SNCC should hold their plans to travel to Washington, D.C. in abeyance, and await further instructions.

On April 1, 1968, the same source advised that on March 29, 1968, Cincinnati SNCC Chairman TOMMY PORTER travelled to Springfield, Illinois, where he spoke to approximately 200 persons at the State House Inn, 101 East Adams Street, which was sponsored by the Institute for Administrative Leadership and School Desegregation and Equal Educational Opportunities. The source stated PORTER in his speech urged separation not integration of the school system because the present school system taught nothing but lies.

The Cincinnati edition of the newspaper, "Call and Post," Page 5, issue of March 30, 1968, carried an article datelined Dayton, Ohio, to the effect national SNCC Field Director CLEVELAND SELLERS spoke before an audience of 200 at the Mt. Olive Church in that city on the same subject matter that SELLERS had previously spoken on in Cincinnati on March 16, 1968; namely, that "Black people are fighting a war for survival in America."

[REDACTED] advised April 2, 1968, he had learned that on April 1, 1968, Cincinnati SNCC Program Director LEROY COSTON had fifteen or twenty Negro teenage male high school students come to SNCC headquarters at 2348 Highland Avenue for a P.M. meeting.

The source stated he was unable to furnish any specific information concerning the meeting, other than he understood COSTON had learned the teenagers had planned to boycott or demonstrate at some of the city high schools, but they had no definite objectives or organization to their plans.

The source stated he also learned that COSTON planned to have another meeting with the students on April 3, 1968.

On April 4, 1968, the source advised that COSTON cancelled the weekly SNCC membership meeting on April 3, 1968, and instead held another meeting with the Negro male teenagers, which was attended by about thirty students. The source stated he was unable to furnish any specifics, but did not believe violence, as such, was involved.

The Dayton, Ohio, newspaper, "Journal Herald," Page 69, issue of April 4, 1968, carried an article titled, "Rebels Label Revolution Black, Internal, Chaotic," which stated, in essence that at a panel discussion at the University of Dayton's Miriam Hall.

on April 3, 1968, CHARLES TATE, above, a representative of SNCC, stated revolution is the "black revolution, and it is a reality," and that "any means necessary for freedom are legitimate."

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

It should be noted that the City of Cincinnati, Ohio, experienced a racial disturbance, which commenced at 6:00 p.m., April 8, 1968, and lasted until 12:00 noon, April 12, 1968, at which time the Mayor's Riot Proclamation was rescinded according to the Cincinnati, Ohio, Police Department.

On April 10, 1968, [REDACTED] advised that on April 9, 1968, Cincinnati SNCC Chairman PORTER stated that everything was fairly quiet, and that SNCC had nothing planned either in connection with the riot or with regard to SNCC meetings and activities.

PORTER indicated with regard to the riots, that a lot of people could be killed, hurt, or arrested, but that there had to be many sacrifices for the greater good, and that more would have to be made.

On April 12, 1968, [REDACTED] advised that the regular Cincinnati SNCC weekly meetings were suspended because of the racial disturbance as were the meetings which LEROY COSTON had been conducting with the Negro high school teenage males.

[REDACTED] stated that COSTON had indicated the meetings were only with regard to a future walkout by the high school kids from school, and that the kids were supposed to stay out of school until the demands they were to present to the teachers and the school board had been met, but the source at that time did not know the nature of the demands that were to be presented.

The source also advised that he had learned of no plans on the part of SNCC or TOMMY PORTER with regard to the riot or

in the immediate future; that the weapons in the possession of the various SNCC members individually were supposedly only for defensive reasons, and that he knew of no specific use that PORTER had in mind for the dynamite in his possession at that time, above.

High School Demonstrations

The newspaper, "Cincinnati Enquirer," Page 1, issue of May 1, 1968, carried an article titled, "Sit-Ins Prompted By Adults - MILLER," which stated in part as follows:

"Supt. PAUL A. MILLER declared Tuesday that demonstrations by 1400 students at six Cincinnati high schools were 'a planned action' that was 'aided and abetted by adults.'

"He charged the peaceful sit-ins across the city have 'exploded the myth' that unrest has been entirely spontaneous.

"MILLER pointed to the presence of several militant leaders and peace protestors seen at the schools where youths protested the reassignment of seven students from Withrow and Woodward.

"He warned that if the adults could be linked directly with the disruptions of school, 'they will be charged with aiding and abetting the students by contributing to the delinquency of a minor.'

"MILLER met with City Hall officials, police and principals to plan counter action to keep schools operating as usual 'for the 90% who want to learn.' There are about 17,000 students in the eight high school centers.

"Taft and Western Hills had no sit-ins, MILLER said."

The "Cincinnati Enquirer," Page 8, issue of May 15, 1968, carried an article titled, "Last of 1,300 Suspended Due Back In School," which stated in part as follows:

"The last 106 students among 1,300 suspended from school during Cincinnati high school sit-ins two weeks ago are due back in classes today.

"Most of the suspended youths had been reinstated by last week through parent conferences with principals."

In connection with the above demonstrations, it should be additionally noted the "Cincinnati Enquirer," Page 1, issue of May 3, 1968, carried an article, which stated, in essence, that students in the Cincinnati public high schools would have greater voice in the operation of their schools, and that black history, culture, and literature would be incorporated in the curriculum. The article went on to discuss the demonstration and stated that THOMAS PORTER, local Chairman of SNCC, who spoke to student demonstrators at schools this week, was arrested in Avondale Thursday for disorderly conduct after allegedly using abusive language against a policeman. He had marched with chanting students around City Hall earlier.

With regard to the high school demonstrations above, on April 30, 1968, [REDACTED] stated that six out of eight Cincinnati high schools were involved in the student protests, demonstrations, and walk-outs that SNCC had encouraged, and because of SNCC's involvement with the students, the regular weekly meetings of SNCC had been temporarily discontinued. The source stated that in furtherance of SNCC's counselling of the students, LEROY COSTON was meeting again either that night with the students or on May 1, 1968.

On May 2, 1968, [REDACTED] stated the previous Cincinnati SNCC meetings with the high school students were for the ultimate purpose of disrupting the schools, and the four students who were transferred from Withrow to Guilford were only the vehicle or house used to bring about the disruption, and the demands were really only of secondary significance.

On May 10, 1968, [REDACTED] advised he had learned that GILTON HENRY, First Vice-President of the Republic of New Africa, was to speak in Cincinnati on either May 19 or May 26, 1968, at the Carmel Presbyterian Church at 7:30 p.m. The source stated that MILTON's appearance was a result of a SNCC invitation. The source stated the speech was being sponsored by SNCC for the purpose of raising money for SNCC, and that speakers such as HENRY are merely reimbursed for their travel expenses with whatever additional raised, going to the organization.

The source advised that the only SNCC member presently believed to be also a member of the New Republic of Africa is LEROY COSTON.

On May 23, 1968, [REDACTED] advised he had learned that several members of Cincinnati SNCC, one of whom was Program Director LEROY COSTON, had indicated intentions of attending a convention to be held by the Republic of New Africa in Chicago, Illinois, during May 30 and 31, 1968.

It should be noted [REDACTED] advised on May 1, 1968, that the Black Government Conference met March 30 - 31, 1968, at Detroit, Michigan, to establish a provisional Government. At this conference the Republic of New Africa (RNA) was formed for the purpose of organizing an independent Negro nation which was to be made up of several southern states of the United States. According to source ROBERT F. WILLIAMS, currently in China, was elected President of the RNA; MILTON ROBINSON HENRY was elected First Vice-President; and RICHARD BULLOCK HENRY, also known as Brother IMARI, was elected Minister of Information of the RNA.

A characterization of ROBERT F. WILLIAMS is contained in the characterization of the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM), which is attached hereto.

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] during May, 1968, advised MILTON HENRY is an Attorney at Law from the Pontiac, Michigan, area, and is regarded as one of the leaders of the Black Nationalist movement in the Detroit, Michigan, area.

[REDACTED] states that RICHARD HENRY also known as IMARI, is an employee of the United States Government, who lives in the Detroit, Michigan, area, and is described as a local militant Black Nationalist who, in the past, was President of a rifle club known as the Fox and Wolf Hunt Club, which club was organized and dominated by members of the local RAM group.

A P P E N D I X

REVOLUTIONARY ACTION MOVEMENT (RAM)

On November 3, 1964, a source made available a document entitled, "The Revolutionary Action Movement Manifesto," the document having been obtained by the source from an individual known to be a member of the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM).

This document stated, in part, that RAM was officially organized in the Winter of 1963 by Afro-Americans who support the revolutionary objectives of Robert F. Williams, then residing in Cuba, and had concept of organized violence to achieve the liberation of the Afro-American people in the United States. This Manifesto disclosed that RAM had oriented its program to one of education and political revolution and the organization of a "black" political party with revolutionary objectives, having recognized the need for a "black revolution" that could and would seize power. RAM philosophy is described in this document as one of revolutionary nationalism; that is, one involving the struggles of the non-white races of the world against exploitation and enslavement by the white capitalist and imperialist nations.

Regarding Williams, it should be noted that on August 28, 1961, a Federal warrant was issued at Charlotte, North Carolina, charging him with Unlawful Flight to Avoid Prosecution for the crime of kidnapping. Subsequent to the issuance of this warrant, Williams fled the United States to Cuba, where he published a monthly newsletter entitled "The Crusader" from Havana. As of December, 1966, Williams was residing in Peking, China.

This source, in September, 1964, advised RAM is dedicated to the overthrow of the capitalist system in the United States by violence, if necessary, and to its replacement by a socialistic system oriented toward the Chinese Communist interpretation of Marxism-Leninism. RAM is entirely non-white in membership, classless in nature, and owes its primary allegiance to the "Landing World," that is, the non-white races of the world rather than to any national entity, as such.

On November 16, 1964, a second source advised he learned recently from a RAM member that the organization began in Detroit, Michigan, largely under the impetus of Dr. Freeman, described as the "Father" of RAM and referred to as RAM's "Black Stalin."

A P P E N D I X

REVOLUTIONARY ACTION MOVEMENT (Continued)

Freeman served as RAM Chairman, with Maxwell Stanford (now of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania) serving as RAM Field Chairman.

On May 12, 1967, a third source advised that the RAM still remains active; however, there is no formal headquarters, as such, for the RAM. The source advised that Maxwell Stanford of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, is considered the leader of RAM and if a RAM headquarters ever existed, it would most likely be where Stanford resides.

A P P E N D I X

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Literature distributed by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360-362 Nelson Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia, describes itself as not being a membership organization, but rather an agency attempting to stimulate and foster the growth of local protest movements. SNCC was born out of the sit-in movement which erupted across the South beginning on February 1, 1960. A conference at Raleigh, North Carolina, that Spring, brought together many of the demonstrating Southern students in a loose network of militant youth which was officially named SNCC in October, 1960.

A source has advised that in May, 1966, Stokely Carmichael was elected National Chairman by the Central Committee. In May, 1967 Carmichael was replaced as Chairman by H. Rap Brown, with Carmichael assuming the position of Recruiter and Organizer for SNCC. In August, 1969, at the invitation of Fidel Castro, Carmichael participated in the Organization of Latin American Solidarity Conference which was held in Havana, Cuba. Subsequent thereto, Carmichael traveled to Hanoi and other sections of North Vietnam. He returned to the United States in December, 1967, at which time his passport was picked up because of travel to unauthorized countries.

A source advised that when Carmichael was elected Chairman of SNCC, the organization embarked on a program of eliminating Caucasians from its ranks. With the election of H. Rap Brown as Chairman in 1967, it embarked on a worldwide struggle for human rights and to take a firm stand against violations of these rights by the American Government and to strengthen its programs of opposition to the draft and to the United States involvement in Vietnam.

Literature distributed in February, 1968, identifies SNCC as an organization in the revolutionary vanguard. It advocates that to be successful it is necessary to develop a revolutionary ideology and revolutionary program.

On August 13, 1967, while addressing a group in the Watts area of Los Angeles, California, H. Rap Brown said "You better shape up America, or we'll burn you down." Later in February, 1968, in a publicized note Brown wrote, "America if it takes my death to organize my people to revolt against you and to organize your jails to revolt against you and to organize your children, your God, your poor, your country, and to organize mankind to rejoice in your destruction and ruin, then here's my life."

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
Cincinnati, Ohio
June 18, 1968

Title	STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)
Character	RACIAL MATTERS
Reference	Report of Special Agent [REDACTED] at Cincinnati, Ohio, dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

[REDACTED]

'68,

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[] No

Report of SA [REDACTED] dated 6/18/68,
at Cincinnati.

- p -

Pending over one year ☐ Yes ☐ No; Pending prosecution over

1000 0000

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES

10-46 REC-65

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REC- 78

Dissemination Record of Attached Report			
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J.D.M.	Civil	CRD	
13/15/68	/		
15/10/68	-		

Notarizing

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- 1 - New York City (Info) (RM)
- 2 - Atlanta
- 1 - Mobile (Info) (RM)
- 1 - Philadelphia (Info) (RM)
- 3 - Cincinnati
 - 2 - 100-14158
 - 1 - 157-1682

ADMINISTRATIVE:

For the purposes of brevity and clarity, the essence of data re the Cincinnati SNCC organization, as furnished by informants and other sources, was set forth only, and unnecessary minor repetitive information eliminated consistent with content and accuracy.

Less significant and non-specific data were relative to the activities of the individual SNCC members, with the exception of pertinent leadership information, has also not been set forth, and will be appropriately reported in the files of the pertinent subjects.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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No specific lead for Louisville has been set forth in instant report in view of above; however, two copies of instant report have been designated for Louisville.

[REDACTED]

Information copies of instant report have been designated to Baltimore, Cleveland, Mobile and Philadelphia and NYC for information and possible future investigative use.

Additionally, instant report has been classified "CONFIDENTIAL" to further protect the identities of the sources who furnished data set forth herein, disclosure of which would be prejudicial to the security interests of the United States.

INFORMANTS:

Identity of Source:

Location:

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

CI 100-14158

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

CG 100-40342

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

LEADS:

CINCINNATI

AT COLUMBUS, OHIO

Will follow with informants and sources for any SMO activity in the Columbus area.

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AT DAYTON, OHIO

Will follow and report activities of SNCC in Dayton area.

Will similarly follow and report on SNCC activities in Xenia, as well as Wilberforce and Yellow Springs, Ohio.

AT CINCINNATI, OHIO

Will similarly follow and report pertinent activities of Cincinnati chapter of SNCC.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to: 1 - 109th Military Intelligence Group, Cincinnati (RM)
1 - Naval Investigative Service Office, Cincinnati (RM)
1 - Office of Special Investigations, Cincinnati (RM)
1 - Secret Service, Cincinnati (RM)

Report of: SA [REDACTED]
Date: 10/3/68

Office: CINCINNATI

Field Office File #: CI 100-14158

Bureau File #: 105-168197

Title: STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Character: RACIAL MATTER - STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Synopsis: Complete leadership and membership of Cincinnati SNCC set forth as furnished by confidential sources, who additionally supplied data re [REDACTED] headquarters, local meetings, travel and conferences in Chicago and New York City with national SNCC leaders concerning SNCC internal conflict and activities. Recent past to present activities of Cincinnati SNCC set forth including status of [REDACTED] development of marching groups and firearms interest, and meeting with RAM leader MAXWELL STANFORD as result of speech by RNA leader BETTY SHABAZZ in Cincinnati on 9/8/68.

- P -

DETAILS:

A characterization of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee is contained in the appendix of this report.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

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CURRENT LEADERSHIP, FUNDS, HEADQUARTERS, MEMBERSHIP AND
MEETINGS OF CINCINNATI SNCC

LEADERSHIP

On July 26, 1968, [REDACTED] furnished the complete SNCC membership roster effective as of the Cincinnati SNCC reorganization on July 15, 1968, and as confirmed August 16, 1968.

The chief leaders (first three below) all of whom have an equal voice, are:

LEROY COSTON
Educational Advisor

KENNETH ROBINSON
Military Advisor

GEORGE HUGHES
Program Director

DONALD HARRIS
Security Officer

JUANITA McCOMBS
Secretary

CLAUDIA ANDERSON
Treasurer and fund raising

WILLIAM HERMAN PAYNE
Field Representative - located in Alabama

Former Chairman

On August 16, 1968, [REDACTED] advised that TOMMY PORTER, former Chairman of Cincinnati SNCC prior to the above reorganization July 15, 1968, then attending classes at Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio, was to leave Cincinnati to commence teaching in Baltimore, Maryland, on September 6, 1968. This source stated PORTER was one of the Antioch-Putney Students Interning in Baltimore under the direction of an individual named JOHN HOPKINS and others in the Baltimore School System. The source also stated that PORTER was to complete additional masters work during the late summer of 1969 at Putney, Vermont.

MEMBERSHIP

In addition to the above, the complete Cincinnati SNCC membership as of July 15, 1968, is as follows:

<u>Name:</u>	<u>Address:</u>	<u>Tele. No.</u>
1. Noah Cave	[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]
2. Randall Williams	[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]
3. Michael Hardrick	[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]
4. Ted Harris	[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]
5. Junita T. McCombs	[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]
6. Clifford E. Cooper	[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]
7. Roberta Shears	[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]
8. Liz Presley	[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]
9. Jack Gibson	[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]
10. William Milton	[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]
11. Ronnie Smith	[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]
12. Leroy O. Coston	[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]
13. Thomas Cooper	[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]
14. Donald Harris	[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]
15. Larry Myles	[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]
16. Olga Turner	[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]
17. Antone Williams	[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]
18. Elaine Rynon	[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]
19. Kenneth Robinson	[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]
20. George Hughes	[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]
21. Bruce Walton	[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]

A characterization of US and BFP appear in the Appendix of this report.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] advised that Cincinnati SNCC planned to send SNCC Educational Advisor LEROY COSTON, Military Advisor KENNETH ROBINSON and the following Cincinnati SNCC members, with the remainder of the fifteen to be subsequently chosen:

TAYLOR HUGHES,

DONALD HARRIS,

TED HARRIS,

CLIFFORD and THOMAS COOPER and MICHAEL HARDRICK to the Chicago, Illinois meeting.

[REDACTED] advised on August 18-19, 1968, that by reason of car trouble, only the following Cincinnati SNCC members were able to travel to Chicago, Illinois, for the above meeting on August 18, 1968:

Educational Advisor LEROY COSTON,

Program Director GEORGE HUGHES,

LARRY MILES,

DONALD HARRIS

MORTINLEY LACE,

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one young male Negro (name unknown), and
TAYLOR HUGHES.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] further advised that the Cincinnati group thereafter returned to Cincinnati, Ohio, during the a.m. of August 25, 1968, where Johnny Jackson thereafter departed for Selma, Alabama [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

RECENT SIGNIFICANT LOCAL ACTIVITIES

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] advised July 27, 1968, concerning the item to be used for firearms training in Kentucky, the location is still as yet not known, but it is anticipated that as soon as SNCC Military Advisor KENNETH ROBINSON had "shaped up" the SNCC guards or protective force, he, ROBINSON, intended to utilize the farm.

The source stated ROBINSON, for the previous week, had been conducting marching and drilling exercises in the vicinity of the Rockdale Temple from about 5:30 p.m. to 8:00 p.m., about every night, and on a few occasions until as late as 10:00 p.m.

The source stated ROBINSON has been drilling about 30 men, some of whom were SNCC members, and some of whom are potential or future SNCC members.

Subsequently on August 14, 1968, [REDACTED] stated that about three weeks previous a local dance was held by SNCC at the Rockdale Temple to raise money and which was well attended. About 1:00 a.m. as the dance was about over, six Negroes from the Mt. Auburn area began to get a little rough to the point it appeared a fight would start as a result of which SNCC military advisor KENNY ROBINSON, called eight of his marching group, and they went to the trunk of ROBINSON's car where they each obtained a weapon, handguns and rifles, and returned to the dance where they told the Mt. Auburn group the dance was over. The source stated ROBINSON's actions were effective, but everyone felt ROBINSON was very foolish in that actions of that type could have brought the Cincinnati Police into the situation quickly.

The source stated ROBINSON's Army does not have a central repository for weapons, but many members of the SNCC Army have their individual guns which they each also keep individually for security reasons, and many of the younger members of the marching group joined it because they believed that sooner or later they would be able to get a weapon as a result of being part of the Army or marching group.

The source stated that ROBINSON, himself, does have several of his own guns, including a magnum, but ROBINSON is so erratic that it is impossible to state that at any given time that he will have a gun in his possession.

The source stated ROBINSON also bought a new motor bike, and has recently been starting new marching groups and linking up recently formed marching groups with his own group at the Rockdale Temple.

The source stated ROBINSON linked up with a new group on the West Side called the "Black Turks" and with a similar type group operating in the Millvale area. In addition, ROBINSON is in the process of forming a new marching group in the Evanston area and has established another marching group in the Madisonville area, and about every other day contacts at least one of the above groups on his motor bike for discussions and drilling practice and on a few occasions there have been sessions of karate instructions.

GENERAL SOUTHERN OHIO SNCC ACTIVITIES AND/OR PARTICIPATION -
RECENT PAST TO PRESENT

[REDACTED] advised May 21, 1968, that on May 19, 1968, MILTON HENRY, Vice President of the Republic of New Africa, appeared at a meeting at the Carmel Presbyterian Church, Reading Road, Cincinnati, which lasted from approximately 8:00 p.m. to 9:45 p.m., and was attended by about 35 persons between the ages of 20 - 40.

The source stated the meeting was sponsored by SNCC, a collection was taken, which totalled about \$25, and HENRY was introduced by Cincinnati SNCC member KENNETH ROBINSON.

A characterization of the RNA (Republic of New Africa) is contained in the appendix of this report.

The source stated ROBINSON told the group that Cincinnati SNCC planned to hold weekly meetings on Sunday at the Carmel Church for discussions on Negro culture and tradition, and in connection with those meetings, were planning to have guest speakers from the various Negro movements in

the United States.

ROBINSON stated that SNCC would invite all the speakers to appear, that the cost for same would come from individual donations so he urged as large a donation as possible since the collection would be divided between SNCC and the particular speaker for the occasion.

ROBINSON further stated that the Carmel Church would become the complete and only real "black man's church in Cincinnati where the black man's culture, history and tradition would prevail".

The source stated MILTON HENRY spoke for one hour, which was followed by a thirty minute question session.

The source stated HENRY discussed the separatist movement, which desired the five states of Mississippi, Louisiana, South Carolina, Georgia and Alabama to be set aside as a separate nation, to be brought about by guerrilla warfare and intimidation of the white man.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

On June 6, 1968, [REDACTED] advised that commencing that date, Cincinnati SNCC would conduct a "Freedom School" at the Rockdale Temple to instruct in Negro culture and tradition; the first meeting would be devoted to registration, and the school was to be open to anyone, with emphasis on teenagers.

This source advised the same date, that about a week previous there was a meeting at the St. Simons Episcopal Church in Lincoln Heights, Ohio, which was attended by about 15 Negro teenagers from the Wyoming, Princeton and Lincoln Heights High Schools, and Cincinnati SNCC members LEROY COSTON, TAYLOR HUGHES, KENNETH ROBINSON and LANA MITCHELL.

The source advised the following Tuesday, the Negro students from Wyoming High School, who had attended the above meeting, presented demands to the Wyoming High School officials to include Negro history and culture in the curriculum.

[REDACTED] also advised on June 6, 1968, that Cincinnati SNCC members LANA MITCHELL, KENNY ROBINSON and WILLIE THOMAS attended the RNA Convention in Chicago, Illinois, during the Memorial Day weekend, 1968.

The source stated he understood the above groups departed the Thursday morning prior to the weekend, and attended the convention that evening and Friday, but because the convention leaders began to fight and differ among themselves, the Cincinnati group got disgusted and returned to Cincinnati.

This source also stated WILLIE THOMAS, above, had bought a clerical collar, adopted the title "Reverend" and became a self-ordained minister to follow the current fad of many of the national SNCC members because it seemed to provide better access to church and other groups. When pressed as to church affiliation, they generally just answer "corner Baptists".

[REDACTED]

This same source advised that on June 8, 9, 1968, an Afro American Weekend was held at Antioch College, which consisted of a concert and fashion show, but the models for same failed to show up. The source stated that TOMMY PORTER, LANA MITCHELL, BRUCE WALTON, TAYLOR HUGHES and GEORGE HUGHES attended as representatives of Cincinnati SNCC.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

The source stated that TYP HARRIS, from Covington, Kentucky, and KENNY ROBINSON from Cincinnati, Ohio, are

considered the military or firearms training leaders for Cincinnati SNCC.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] advised on June 26, 1968, that he believed SNCC as an organization had lost much of its appeal to the Negro population in the Dayton, Ohio area subsequent to the newspaper articles which reported STOKELY CARMICHAEL, Former National Chairman of SNCC, had purchased a \$70,000 home in Washington, D.C.

On July 27, 1968 [REDACTED] advised that the "Freedom School", above, which was started by SNCC, with classes open to the public, at the Rockdale Temple on Thursday nights, 7:00 - 9:00 P.M. had become very successful. The source stated classes had been expanded to Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday of every week at the Samuel Aches Junior High School, from 6:00 p.m. to 9:00 p.m.

The newspaper "Cincinnati Enquirer" issue of August 6, 1968, page 38, carried an article titled, "Must Affirm Our Blackness Negroes Told At Umojo Session", which stated that August 5, 1968, was the opening of Umojo (UNITY) Week in the Avondale Section of Cincinnati, Ohio.

The article stated Umojo Week would continue for the entire week, would end August 11, 1968, and began with a parade up Reading Road which was led by the sponsors and

immediately followed by the "Avondale Drill Team" led by KENNETH ROBINSON, above, as drill instructor.

The article stated this unit was dressed in blue jeans, black sweaters, and some wore berets. The men wore high military boots, and all wore ammunition belts.

The newspaper "Cincinnati Post and Times Star", issue of August 6, 1968, page 8, carried an article titled "Workshops Highlight Umojo Week Activities" which stated the August 7, 1968, session would open at 10:45 a.m. with a workshop on Economics for Black People, headed by LEROY COSTON, Co-Chairman of local SNCC.

The article additionally listed several panelists for the educational program, including among whom was TOM PORTER, Chairman of SNCC and HAROLD JEFFERIES (above SNCC membership list).

The newspaper "Cincinnati Enquirer" issue of August 8, 1968, page 17, carried an article titled "Racial Pride Stressed for Unity" which stated that LEROY COSTON, Co-Chairman of Cincinnati SNCC, and organizer of workshop sessions for Umojo (Unity) Week in the Avondale Section of Cincinnati stated on August 7, 1968, that his message to the black men and women attending the workshop in the Rockdale Temple was "blackness equals knowledge of self, racial pride, self-respect and cooperative effort".

COSTON was quoted as saying, "We've tried to involve ourselves at every level, but we still have no rights."

The only meaningful measure that can be taken by our people in this racist society is to turn our resources back to ourselves."

[REDACTED] advised August 19, 1968, he had learned that date that PHILIP HUTCHINGS and IRVING DAVIS, both national SNCC leaders in New York City, New York, traveled to the Cleveland, Akron and Dayton, Ohio areas for the purpose of organizing SNCC operations in these cities.

This source stated HUTCHINGS and DAVIS returned to New York City on August 16, 1968, and indicated they had had reasonable organizing success in Ohio.

[REDACTED] advised on August 21, 1968, he had learned no information to indicate PHILIP HUTCHINGS or IRVING DAVIS, above, had been to the Dayton, Ohio area around August 14, 1968.

The "Cincinnati Enquirer" issue of August 23, 1968, page 10, carried an article titled "'Black Berets' March to Promote Self-Help; But Police Are Wary", which stated young Negro men and women are forming uniformed marching units in the Greater Cincinnati area which they say may help create community and racial pride.

The article stated the two largest groups are reported in the West End and Avondale and others are said to be forming in Cumminsville, Milvale, Walnut Hills, Lincoln Heights, Madisonville and northern Kentucky and may have a total strength of 200, mostly men between 16 and 25, and a few black sisters.

The article described KENNETH ROBINSON, above, age 24, as a "General" and as a full-time employee of a major industrial firm who had worked his way up from sweeper since he was honorably discharged from the Army four years ago.

The article indicated ROBINSON, when interviewed stated he resented having to account for their groups and uniforms and ceremonial use of machetes - long jungle knives - by honor guards because they were Negro. He felt that white youth groups could have hunting knives and hatchets and the like, as well as uniforms, without having to offer special explanations and undergo police surveillance.

The "Cincinnati Enquirer" issue of September 9, 1968, page 14, carried an article titled, "She Compares Black With Patriots of 1773", which stated BETTY SHABAZZ, widow of black militant leader MALCOLM X, Sunday night, (September 8, 1968) compared the "black man's struggle for freedom in America" with the original struggle of the 13 colonies in a speech at the Rockdale Temple, above, Cincinnati, Ohio, under the "auspices of the Republic of New Africa".

The article stated Miss SHABAZZ arrived about 6:30 p.m. and was heavily guarded. Guards additionally were stationed at the entrance of the building, and frisked everyone who came in.

The article stated the speech concerned the establishment of a separate black nation within the U. S.; that 20 guards escorted Miss SHABAZZ to a car after the speech, and three carloads of guards took her to the airport.

██████████ advised September 10, 1968, that BETTY SHABAZZ, above, appeared for a speech in Cincinnati as a result of a previous invitation by SNCC member, WILLIE THOMAS, who is also a Recruiter for the RNA.

This source stated that SHABAZZ came to Cincinnati accompanied by RNA leader, RICHARD HENRY, both of whom departed

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from Cincinnati September 8, 1968.

This source additionally stated that WILLIE THOMAS appeared at the Rockdale Temple accompanied by MAXWELL STANFORD, a leader of the Revolutionary Action Movement, who had arrived in Cincinnati September 7, 1968, and is believed to have departed September 8, 1968.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] stated he learned that ROBINSON planned to depart Cincinnati during the morning of September 27, 1968, and would be accompanied by DONALD HARRIS, Cincinnati SNCC Security Officer and military aide of ROBINSON, and would probably return to Cincinnati during the p.m. of September 28, 1968.

A P P E N D I X
STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Literature distributed by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), headquartered at 360-362 Nelson Street, S.W., Atlanta, Georgia, describes itself as not being a membership organization, but rather an agency attempting to stimulate and foster the growth of local protest movements. SNCC was born out of the sit-in movement which erupted across the South beginning on February 1, 1960. A conference at Raleigh, North Carolina, that Spring, brought together many of the demonstrating Southern students in a loose network of militant youth which was officially named SNCC in October, 1960.

A source has advised that in May, 1966, Stokely Carmichael was elected National Chairman by the Central Committee. In May, 1967 Carmichael was replaced as Chairman by H. Rap Brown, with Carmichael assuming the position of Recruiter and Organizer for SNCC. In August, 1967, at the invitation of Fidel Castro, Carmichael participated in the Organization of Latin American Solidarity Conference which was held in Havana, Cuba. Subsequent thereto, Carmichael traveled to Hanoi and other sections of North Vietnam. He returned to the United States in December, 1967, at which time his passport was picked up because of travel to unauthorized countries.

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A P P E N D I X

BLACK PANTHER PARTY, Aka., Black Panther Party for Self Defense

A source advised that the Black Panther Party for Self Defense (BPPSD) was formed by HUEY PERCY NEWTON, Minister of Defense, and BOBBY GEORGE SEALE, Chairman, in December, 1966, as a militant black nationalist political organization to combat police brutality, to unite militant black youth, and to determine the destiny of black communities. The political philosophy was taken from writings of Chairman MAO Tse-tung of Communist China and black militant writers.

In March, 1968, the name of the organization was changed to Black Panther Party (BPP).

The official BPP publication, "The Black Panther Party - Black Community News Service," states that the BPP advocates use of guns and guerrilla tactics in their violent revolutionary program to end oppression of black people.

On February 17, 1968, ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, Minister of Information, announced merger of the BPP and Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and bestowed title of Minister of Justice, BPP, upon H. RAP BROWN, Chairman of SNCC.

SNCC is a militant Negro organization which preaches black supremacy.

NEWTON, aforementioned, is incarcerated in the Alameda County Jail, Oakland, California, awaiting trial on charge of murder of an Oakland police officer.

Headquarters of BPP and Huey P. Newton Defense Fund are located at 4421 Grove Street, Oakland, California.

A P P E N D I X

REPUBLIC OF NEW AFRICA (RNA)

Confidential source #1 advised the Republic of New Africa (RNA) is a militant Negro separatist organization which was founded March 30-31, 1968, at a Black Government Conference held at the Central United Church of Christ, 7625 Linwood Avenue, Detroit, Michigan (The Shrine of the Black Madonna).

Confidential source #2 advised this conference was sponsored by the Malcolm X Society, an organization utilized by HILTON ROBINSON HENRY (Brother Gaidi), an attorney at law from Pontiac, Michigan who is regarded as one of the leaders of the Black Nationalist movement in the Detroit area; his brother, RICHARD BULLOCK HENRY (Brother Izari), Detroit, Michigan, an employee of the Army Tank Automotive Command, Warren, Michigan, also a Black Nationalist leader and the Reverend ALBERT BUFORD CLEAGE, JR., Pastor of the Central United Church of Christ, Detroit, as a vehicle to promote various Black Nationalist activities.

Confidential source #2 advised that HENRY brothers and CLEAGE adopted the name Malcolm X for their society since MALCOLM X, also known as MALCOLM X. LITTLE, now deceased, was a former leader in the Nation of Islam (NOI) and after his break with the NOI organized the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated (MMI), and the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU). MALCOLM X was known nationally as an advocate of black power and since his assassination February 21, 1965 at New York City, any meeting or organization utilizing the name receives widespread publicity from the news media.

The Malcolm X Society, prior to its dissolution and incorporation into the RNA, maintained no headquarters, had no formal membership and did not hold any meetings.

Confidential source #1 advised the purpose of the RNA which is to be revolutionary in nature is to make efforts for international recognition with assistance from other black nations of the world. The RNA proposes to make attempts to obtain an island or a plot of land in one of the Southern States, establish a government in exile, petition for a seat in the United Nations, and demand reparations from the United States.

Government for ancestral slave labor. These reparations are to be \$10,000.00 for every black person in the United States and the States of Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi and South Carolina which are to be given to the NNA by the United States Government. The officers of the NNA also propose the establishment of a standing armed force, to be known as the Black Legion, which is to be financed through an income tax imposed on willing black persons in the United States.

In the furtherance of the purposes of the NNA, several executive officers have presented the Republic's credentials and an offer to negotiate for reparations to the United States Secretary of State.

ROBERT P. WILLIAMS was elected President of the NNA, HILTON HENRY was elected First Vice President, BETTY SEMAZZ, widow of the late MALCOLM X, was elected Second Vice President, and RICHARD HENRY was elected Minister of Information.

On August 23, 1961, a Federal warrant was issued for the arrest of ROBERT P. WILLIAMS, charging him with Unlawful Flight to Avoid Prosecution for the crime of kidnapping. Subsequent to the issuance of this warrant, WILLIAMS fled to Cuba where he published a monthly Black Nationalist newsletter entitled "The Crusader". WILLIAMS subsequently moved from Havana, Cuba to Peking, China, where he has continued to publish "The Crusader".

Characterizations of the FBI, LHM and OAAU are attached hereto.

A P P E N D I X

"US", also known as
"US", Incorporated

Articles of Incorporation filed September 14, 1968, with the Secretary of State of the State of California, indicate "US" is a non-profit corporation with its office located at 8211 South Broadway, Los Angeles, California. One of the primary purposes of "US", as set down in the Articles of Incorporation, is to "give the Afro-American people a sense of purpose . . . based on their collective efforts and vocation of building an Afro-American culture".

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, made available a copy of a booklet entitled "The Quotable Karenga", authored by MAULANA RON KARENGA, also known as Ronie McKinley Everett, the Founder-Chairman of "US". Regarding culture, this booklet advises:

" . . . US is a cultural organization dedicated to the creation, recreation and circulation of Afro-American culture. . . . The seven criteria for culture are: (1) Mythology (2) History (3) Social Organization (4) Political Organization (5) Economic Organization (6) Creative Motif (7) Ethos, . . . We must free ourselves culturally before we succeed politically.

Regarding revolution, this booklet advises:

" . . . You must have a cultural revolution before the violent revolution. The cultural revolution gives identity, purpose and direction. . . . The revolution being fought now is a revolution to win the minds of our people. If we fail to win this we cannot wage the violent one. . . . When the word is given we'll see how tough you are. When it's 'burn', let's see how much you burn. When it's 'kill', let's see how much you kill. When it's 'blow up', let's see how much you blow up. And when it's 'take that white girl's head too', we'll really see how tough you are . . . "

Regarding politics, this booklet advises:

"We . . . must concern ourselves with legitimacy and not legality. Legitimacy is what Black people feel they need. Legality is set up by the system and no system can condemn itself. Laws "are made to perpetrate a system, not destroy it. . . . We must move in every level possible to get power. If we have to get power by talking to the man - let's get it. If we have to get power by making alliances with Africa and Asia - let's get it. We have an organization that thinks, acts, breathes the question of power . . . "

(cont'd)

"US", also known as "US", Incorporated

Regarding religion, this booklet advises:

"... The Christian is our worst enemy. Quiet as it's kept it was a Christian who enslaved us. Quiet as it's kept it's the Christian that burns us. Quiet as it's kept it's a Christian that beats us down on the street; and quiet as it's kept, when a thing goes down it'll be a Christian that's shooting us down. You have to face the fact that if the Christian is doing all this there must be something wrong with Christianity. . ."

"JESUS said, 'My blood will wash you white as snow' Who wants to be white but sick 'niggers', or worse yet - - - washed that way by the blood of a dead Jew. You know if Wadizola bleaching cream couldn't do it, no dead Jew's blood is going to do it. . ."

A second source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that new members of "US" are required to study and memorize the booklet entitled, "The Quotable Karenga".

The first source advised that "US" membership is divided into three levels. The first level is comprised of new members who engage in the study of the Swahili language, Karate and cultural activities such as arts and sewing. The second level is comprised of members who act as office guards and make speeches. The third and highest level of membership is the leadership level and only members of this level may engage in travel. Membership in "US" is limited to males and females of the Negro race.

The second source advised that when members of "US" have completed their instructions in the Swahili language they are then assigned Swahili names which they use in lieu of their given names.

In January, 1967, a source advised that a man had described his organization on a nationwide basis as the "Nation of Islam" and "Muhammad's Temple of Islam."

On May 3, 1967, a second source advised Mirgha Muhammad is the national leader of the Nation of Islam (NOI); Muhammad's Temple of Islam No. 2, 5885 South Greenwood Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, is the national headquarters of the NOI; and in mid-1960 Muhammad and other NOI officials, when referring to Muhammad's organization as a worldwide body, mentioned using either "Mosque" or "Temple" when mentioning one of Muhammad's Temples of Islam.

[illegible]

On the 21st, 22nd, 23rd and 24th of the month, following
thereafter, into each of the registers under the provisions of the
elective system laws and the decision that members are to
discontinue to the United States.

On May 5, 1950, the Office Council advised that it had
been advised a legal committee, comprised of two persons, was named
by the Council to be the individual concerning the the subject of
the investigation in order to avoid possible prosecution by the
United States Government. However, the did not indicate any
fundamental change in the workings of the organization.

[illegible]

A P P E N D I X

MUSLIM MOSQUE, INCORPORATED (MMI)

The March 13, 1964 edition of "The New York Times," a daily newspaper published in New York, New York, contained an article on Page 20, which indicated that MALCOLM X (LITTLE), former national official of the Nation of Islam (NOI) who broke with the NOI on March 8, 1964, publicly announced in New York City on March 12, 1964, that he had formed the Muslim Mosque, Incorporated (MMI). The MMI, according to the article, would be a broadly based politically oriented black nationalist movement for Negroes only, financed by voluntary contributions. In this public statement, MALCOLM X urged Negroes to abandon the doctrine of non-violence when it is necessary to defend themselves in the civil rights struggle, and he also suggested that Negroes form rifle clubs to protect their lives and property in time of emergencies in areas where the government is unable or unwilling to protect them.

Incorporation papers of the MMI filed on March 16, 1964, with the Business Section, Clerk of Courts, New York County, New York, New York, reflect that the MMI was incorporated under the Religious Corporation Law of the State of New York to work for the imparting of the Islamic Faith and Islamic Religion in accordance with "accepted Islamic principles." The principal place of worship to be located in the Borough of Manhattan, New York, New York.

The May 23, 1964 edition of the "New York Amsterdam News," a weekly Negro newspaper published in New York City, contained an article by columnist JAMES BOOKER, in which he indicated that he had heard the visit by MALCOLM X with Muslim leaders during his African tour has changed him to become more religious.

On October 6, 1964, a confidential source advised that the MMI is apparently affiliated with the true orthodox Islamic Religion through its affiliation with the Islamic Foundation (of New York), 1 Riverside Drive, New York City. The only teachings of the MMI are on the Islamic Religion.

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A P P E N D I X

MUSLIM MOSQUE, INCORPORATED (MMI) (Continued)

This confidential source advised on May 17, 1965, that the headquarters of the MMI are located in Suite 128, Hotel Theresa, 2030 Seventh Avenue, New York, New York, where they were established on March 16, 1964. These headquarters are shared with the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU) which was also headed by MALCOLM X.

MALCOLM X was assassinated on February 21, 1965, while addressing an OAAU rally at the Audubon Ballroom, Broadway and 106th Streets, New York City.

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APPENDIX

ORGANIZATION AFRO-AMERICAN UNITY, INC. (OAAU)

On June 28, 1964, Malcolm X Little, founder and leader of the Muslim Mosque, Inc. (MMI), publicly announced the formation of a new, all Negro, militant civil rights action group to be known as the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU), with himself as Chairman. This announcement was made at a public rally held by the MMI in the Audubon Ballroom, Broadway and 166th Streets, New York City.

A printed and published statement of basic OAAU aims read by Malcolm X at this meeting indicates that it shall include "all" people of African descent in the Western Hemisphere, as well as "our" brothers and sisters on the African continent. It is patterned after the "letter and spirit" of the Organization of African Unity established (by African heads of States) at Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, in May, 1963.

A recording of the remarks of Malcolm X at this meeting indicates that the aim of the OAAU is to eliminate differences between Negroes so they can work together for "Human rights," while the initial objective is to "inter-nationalize" the American civil rights movement by taking it to the United Nations. Little condemned the nonviolent civil rights movement and claims that Negroes should be taught to protect themselves, when and if necessary. The OAAU will sponsor a program for Negroes in education, politics, culture, economics and social reform.

Malcolm X was assassinated on February 21, 1965, while addressing an OAAU rally at the Audubon Ballroom, New York City.

On April 13, 1966, a source advised that on March 26, 1965, the OAAU filed a Certificate of Incorporation with the Department of State, State of New York, Albany, New York, and henceforth the organization's true name would be Organization of Afro-American Unity, Incorporated.

On February 28, 1966, a second source advised that the president and head of the OAAU is Ella Collins, a half-sister of the late Malcolm X who resides in the Harlem Section of New York City.

On May 6, 1967, the first source advised that the headquarters of the OAAU is located at 224 West 139th Street, New York, New York, which is the residence of Ella Collins.



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

**UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION**

**P. O. Box 1277
Cincinnati, Ohio 45201
October 2, 1963**

**Title STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING
 COMMITTEE (SNCC)**

Character RACIAL MATTER - SNCC

**Reference Report of SA [REDACTED]
 dated and captioned as above.**

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.